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THE
NICHOLAS PAPERS.

CORRESPONDENCE
OF
SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS,
SECRETARY OF STATE.

EDITED BY
GEORGE F. WARNER.

VOL. III.
JULY, 1655—DEC., 1656.



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PREFACE.

THE third and, it is hoped, penultimate volume of the correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas covers a period of eighteen months, beginning with July, 1655. There is, however, the same inequality in the distribution of its contents which was remarked in vol. ii.; for, whether the fact is due to unusual activity on the part of his correspondents, or, as is more probable, merely to the accident that the letters addressed to Nicholas in 1655 have been exceptionally fortunate in escaping destruction, the latter half of that year requires more than three times as much room as the whole of 1656. The list of writers is mainly the same as in the preceding volume. Joseph Jane, who was still at the Hague, is by far the most prolific. His judgment on affairs was evidently held by Nicholas in high esteem, and he contributes upwards of fifty letters, in which every phase of the political situation is freely discussed. Both the Earl of Norwich and Lord Hatton are less in evidence than they were, but their letters are as lively and characteristic as ever. Unlike Norwich, who was generally in desperate straits, having to mend his "ould breeches" and look about for "a crust of new bread" (p. 15), Hatton seems to have lived at Paris in tolerable comfort. Apart from the misdoings of the Queen and her faction at the Palais Royal, on which he dilates with his usual acrid humour, his most serious grievance was that his merits were not officially recognised by employment, the more so as he could boast of being one of the lucky few who could "serve at their own charge, aye, and contribute too" (p. 7). In September, 1656, he managed, after a first rebuff, to obtain a pass for England from the Council of State, and he promised the King on starting to

“advertise very religiously how he finds things” (p. 284). Unfortunately, however, just when his letters would have been of most interest they cease altogether. Sir Henry de Vic, Resident at Brussels, is a more regular correspondent, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale also writes frequently from the same neighbourhood, chiefly on his negotiations with the Levellers, Col. Edward Sexby and Richard Overton. At Paris, besides Lord Hatton, Nicholas still had as an “intelligencer” Percy Church,^a whose interesting series of news letters, like those of Jane from the Hague, embody much information from English sources. When after a time they come to an end, they are succeeded by a new series from Sir Richard Browne, the Royalist Resident. From England direct there are only a few anonymous letters of news. Among other occasional correspondents abroad are the Marquis of Ormonde, Sir Alexander Hume, Capt. Peter Mews (the future bishop), Col. Robert Whitley, Henry Bennet,^b George Lane, Sir William Bellenden, and Sir John Marlay. There is a curious letter also from Count Ulefeldt, the disgraced Danish minister, defending himself from charges of embezzlement in connection with aid given by the King of Denmark some years before to Montrose. Of letters written by Nicholas himself five only are included. As was the case with the much greater number in the two previous volumes, they have been preserved among the extracts made from his lost letter-books by Dr. Thomas Birch in 1750-51 (see vol. i., preface). To some extent, however, the deficiency on this side of the corre-

^a He was a Catholic, and Groom of the Chamber to Queen Henrietta Maria, and after the Restoration is described as her Equerry. His history has recently been traced by Professor A. H. Church, F.R.S., in an interesting article in the *Genealogist*, 1897, entitled “Percy Church, a forgotten Royalist.” He belonged to an Essex family, of Maldon and elsewhere, and since writing the above-mentioned article Professor Church has found proof that he was the only son of Rocke Church, Surveyor to James I. He died on 27th July, 1675.

^b Several of Bennet’s letters, written from the French camp, where he was in attendance on the Duke of York, contain nothing but unimportant military details, and are consequently not printed.

spondence is supplied elsewhere, a number of letters from Nicholas to Jane, together with other letters addressed to Nicholas himself, having in some unexplained manner found their way into the Public Record Office. As their contents are fully given in the *Calendar of State Papers* for 1655-56 they are not printed here, the materials, already sufficiently bulky, being drawn exclusively from the Nicholas Collection in the British Museum.

Besides correspondence, the volume also contains matter preserved among the Secretary's papers relating to the case of Henry Manning the spy, of whose treason and detection curious particulars are given in Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, xiv. 138-146. This "proper young gentleman," as Clarendon describes him, was a Catholic, and son of a Royalist colonel killed at Alresford, where he himself also was wounded.^a He came to Cologne soon after the King—by his own account (p. 149) about the end of January, 1655—and his good looks, genial manners, and full purse, added to his father's loyal services, gained him ready admittance to the court circle. Having ingratiated himself particularly with the Earl of Rochester, he imparted to him as a secret that he was charged by the Earl of Pembroke to assure the King of his affection, and of his having a sum of £3,000 ready for him at Wilton on production of a private token.^b By Rochester's means he repeated this to Charles himself and afterwards to Clarendon, or Sir Edward Hyde as he then was. The latter knew Pembroke's sentiments and resources well enough to warn the King that the story was a mere fiction concocted by Manning in order to secure a better welcome; but neither he nor anyone else had the least suspicion of the man's true character, and it was a rude shock

^a He was evidently connected with Wiltshire, and was probably the Henry Manning of Salisbury who compounded for the modest fine of £3 6s. 8d. on 12th December, 1650 (*Cal. of Comm. for Compounding*, pt. iv. p. 2649). He is said to have served as a Royalist captain (*Thurloe St. Pap.* iv. p. 249).

^b This is Clarendon's account. Manning gave rather a different version himself after his arrest (p. 150).

therefore when it was discovered late in the year that he was a paid spy of Thurloe and the principal channel by which the English Government was kept informed of the plans and movements of those concerned in the plot of the preceding spring. From another agent's letter to Thurloe (*State Papers*, iv. p. 249) we learn that he was seized, with his papers, on the night of 5th December. Nicholas was deputed, with Ormonde and Colepeper, to examine him, and full minutes of both questions and answers are here printed (pp. 149-187). The letters found upon him and his own admissions left no doubt of his guilt, but the strongest proofs of it were unknown to his examiners. They are to be found in his letters which had already reached their destination, and are printed in the *Thurloe State Papers* and the *Record Office Calendars*.^a His own account was that he was loyal at heart and merely forwarded to England trivial and fictitious intelligence which hurt nobody, his sole object being to obtain money.^b The lie is given to these impudent protestations by his own hand. His earliest letter, of 13th March, 1655,^c sent important information as to Royalists going to England, and from this date until his arrest he did his work as spy with evident zest.

The most interesting of his letters here (p. 177) relates to a design for surprising Plymouth, discussed, as he alleges, by Charles and his Council on 11th November. It is, no doubt, the letter to which Clarendon especially refers (sect. 143); but if the copy here is complete his recollection of the contents was not quite accurate. This seems to have been a case in which Manning really did delude (or, as the letter was stopped, intend to delude) his employers with

^a The *Calendar* for 1655 contains a series of eleven deciphered letters from him to Thurloe, written between May and July.

^b His pay is said to have been £120 a month (*Thurloe St. Pap.* iv. p. 292), but this is very doubtful.

^c In the *Thurloe St. Pap.* iii. p. 190, signed Henry Jackson. He speaks of having written before to the Protector and "my Lord President," but without receiving any answers.

fictitious news. He confessed (p. 181) that the whole story was his own invention, and Clarendon confirms him, declaring there was not a syllable of truth in it, no such proposal having been debated or even heard of. Nothing is said as to his fate either by Clarendon or in the Nicholas Papers. Four letters, however, from him to Nicholas, containing abject appeals for mercy, will be found on pp. 196-203, and there are more of the same sort not printed. The Royalists feared that the Protector would seize one of their party as a hostage for his life, and this was suggested to Thurloe by a correspondent on 17th December (iv. p. 290). No time, however, was allowed for any attempt to save him, even if the Government had wished to concern itself about a now useless tool. In his last letter, of 14th December (p. 202), he speaks of rumours of a "suddein end intended" him on the following day, and the cessation of his appeals makes it probable that his worst fears were speedily realised. It is only, however, incidentally in a letter of intelligence to Thurloe from the Hague on 1st May, 1656 (iv. p. 718), that we learn that he was "pistolled" in a wood near Cologne by Sir James Hamilton and Major Armorer. The most singular feature in the case is that he was arrested, confined for more than a week, and finally, after a more or less formal trial, put to death in an independent state, apparently without any interference or protest from the authorities of Cologne.

At the time when the volume opens the exiled Royalists were still smarting from the disastrous failure of the ill-advised rising in the spring of 1655. Charles was again at Cologne, where, except for a short interval in September, he remained till the spring of the following year. The interval was spent in a visit to Frankfort Fair,* as Nicholas thought, for pleasure only, but Ormonde makes out that it was in order to raise money (p. 61). As Secretary of State, Nicholas was in attendance upon the King, together with Hyde,

* He had an interview near Frankfort with Queen Christina of Sweden (p. 87). De Vic has something to say of this eccentric lady on p. 57.

Ormonde, and others, and it is to Cologne therefore that the letters here are addressed until May, 1656, when he followed his master to Bruges. Of the active leaders in the abortive outbreak, Rochester, O'Neill, Wagstaffe, and others had made good their escape abroad. Penruddock and Grove, however, had paid the penalty of their exploit at Salisbury on the scaffold, and Cromwell's hand lay heavy on all who were suspected of complicity. For the time the party in England was thus completely crushed. Wild rumours were even afloat of their impending massacre or wholesale deportation to the Indies, and we are actually told by Norwich that it was by the casting vote of Lawrence alone in the Council that a massacre was averted (p. 218). Under these conditions the only hope of relief seemed to lie in another direction. "All that come from England," writes Jane on 24th August (p. 35), "now say that there must be forreyne force," and no small part of the correspondence is taken up with speculations on the chances of a war between England and Spain, when the latter, it was thought, would be forced to actively support the Royalist cause. The tardy issue of Penn's expedition to the West Indies was therefore awaited with anxiety. To the last the secret of its destination had been well kept, and so late as 23rd July we find Nicholas surmising (p. 21) that it might prove a joint design of Cromwell and Spain against Brazil. The earliest news, reported to Nicholas by Sir A. Hume on 12th July (p. 16), was that Penn had taken San Domingo in the Spanish island of Hispaniola, and it was not until 9th August (p. 28) that Jane was able to announce the truth. A fuller account of his repulse from San Domingo and his subsequent seizure of Jamaica (the importance of which was not at first appreciated) followed three days later from Sir H. de Vic (p. 29), being derived from Cardenas, Spanish Ambassador in England. Although De Vic seems to have felt a patriotic twinge at Queen Christina of Sweden's sneer that 100 Spanish had beaten 4,000 English, the news was as favourable for the Royalists as they could reasonably have hoped, for while the desired provocation was given to Spain, a serious blow, as they imagined, was

dealt at Cromwell's prestige. Jane puts the case strongly as usual (p. 58). "This strikes him," he writes, "in point of reputacion with the vulgar in England, who beleevved him invincible. . . . Next this plucks him low in mony and he wilbe putt to it hard, for, if his fortune fayle, the peoples boldnes will increase and the orders of his Councell will hardly gett mony, and a parliament will have conditions that must make him nothinge." But in spite of insults and injuries in the Indies and from Blake's fleet nearer home, followed up in October by Cromwell's Declaration of Grievances against them, the Spaniards were in no hurry to move. Besides their other difficulties, of which Langdale gives a gloomy account on p. 201, they had enough on their hands in the war with France. Although ready to make reprisals by seizing English traders and goods, they were therefore plainly reluctant to the last to destroy all hopes of peace by an open alliance with Charles. Matters were complicated too by their somewhat ambiguous dealings with Col. Sexby, "the Spaniards favourit," as Norwich calls him, "and by whom he cheefly workes" (p. 2). Unless Norwich was deceived, Sexby was plotting with Spain against Cromwell's life, but he was admittedly not working on the King's account (p. 44), and Nicholas recognised, what Cardenas avowed, that Spain actually preferred a republic in England to a monarchy as more likely to result in continual dissensions and consequent weakness (p. 249). The Royalists naturally viewed matters in a different light; for, as Langdale puts it (p. 76), "the killinge Cromwell will little availe, if in his steade they sett upp a Commonwealth." Their own negotiations with the Levellers promised little tangible benefit. Overton, indeed, wrote effusively of the King's open letter to the Levellers, sent to him through Langdale (p. 73), but neither party really trusted the other. After a tedious and unsatisfactory interview on Sexby's return from Spain, Langdale's conclusion was that "they are not wourth the taking notice of" (p. 128), while to Nicholas Sexby appeared no better than a spy (p. 145). Even Norwich could only say that, though he might be

a knave, he was certainly no fool (p. 15). Nor was the outlook brighter with regard to the Catholics and Presbyterians. As was seen in the earlier correspondence, the latter were especially odious to Nicholas and his friends, and a fresh attempt to conciliate them in July, 1655, met with marked disfavour. Mews, for instance, could not "but pitty the poore King, who must bee so perplexed with the factious and unreasonable humors of som people" (p. 20). Jane, though he grudgingly admitted the necessity of receiving their overtures (p. 22), was more outspoken, avowing his belief that "the designes of that generation are as fraudulent and trayterous as ever" (p. 13). The immediate result of the King's supposed inclination towards them was to excite the jealousy of other parties, especially the Catholics. The latter were already aggrieved by the Treaty of Breda, and Langdale made himself the mouthpiece of their fresh discontent (p. 53). Nicholas's reply is one of the letters preserved by Birch (p. 64). While declaring the King's earnest desire "to take in all parties that will serve him," he significantly adds that it was impossible to satisfy "the different humours of all parties, who hold it their interest to destroy one another."

Practically therefore during the last six months of 1655 the Royalists effected nothing, and the King's fortunes, especially after Cromwell's Treaty with France, were perhaps at their lowest. Meanwhile, both at home and abroad, the Protector for his part had not been idle. As described by Royalist pens, he is of course "rogue," "villain," "monster," "hellish rebel," and so on, but it was a case of *oderint, dum metuant*. "Whilst wee on this side the water," writes Hatton (p. 5), "trifle out with giving way to *all* humors and factions, Cromwell resolves to leave none in England that are not of *his* humour and faction." This was exaggerated of course, but it contains an element of truth. After the plot of 1655, greater severity in repression was undoubtedly employed, and by Royalist admission it so far succeeded that its effect was to "rather terrifie then exasperate, and men grow

rather fearfull then vindictive by it " (p. 22). Besides the arrest of suspected persons, by an order of 6th July all adherents of Charles or his father were banished from the capital (p. 25). London, we are told, was thus " abandoned allmost by all the gentry," and it was not until November, when the order expired, that they again began to " creepe into the towne " (p. 120). The appointment of major-generals of counties or " cantonizing of the kingdom," as it was called, was a measure of wider scope. This took effect at the end of October, and appeared to some a policy of doubtful wisdom on the Protector's part, as putting too much power in the hands of possible rivals (p. 133). Later we hear of the great rigour with which these "new Bashaws"^a performed their functions, Col. William Butler in Northamptonshire being particularly stigmatized (p. 261). In the instance given Cromwell upon complaint refused to interfere, but other applicants for redress seem to have found him more amenable (pp. 253, 254). Three more drastic ordinances completed the discomfiture of the prostrate party. One of them made all masters answerable for everything done or said by their servants, and was felt to be so unreasonable that it provoked remonstrance. Cromwell's characteristic reply is given in a London news-letter (p. 193). It was not conciliatory, to say the least, inveighing strongly against the "forlorne poore cavaliers, who get into good houses to bee gentlemen ushers to ladyes, stewards of great persons, companions to the gentry, hangers on, hungry fellows, etc." The Declaration of 24th November to "secure the peace of the commonwealth" (p. 193) struck at a different and more reputable class. Besides disarming all who had been "sequestred" or had fought for the King, it forbade them, after 1st January, 165 $\frac{5}{6}$, to harbour "any sequestred chaplains or school masters for education of their children," while the ejected clergy were disabled from using the Book of Common Prayer or preaching "either publike or private." But what seems to have

^a This is Jane's term (p. 141), but it is also used by Clarendon in his *History*.

caused most dismay was the ten per cent. tax imposed on the Royalists for the expenses of the new militia. Jane hoped this would prove the proverbial last straw, and that despair would drive the victims to open rebellion. Nothing of the kind, however, occurred. "Some cavaliers doe yield," reports a news-writer, "others not, though they bee forced to let them take what they please" (p. 192), and the case of Sir John Monson, who vainly pleaded the Act of Oblivion, showed the futility of resistance (p. 215). No doubt, as Jane suggests (p. 239), the collection was made easier by the exemption of all whose income was under £100 a year; in any case, at the beginning of 1656 the tax was said to be paid "without any opposition." To Jane, out of harm's way at the Hague, it seemed "an ill signe that soe few dare suffer or profess themselves injured in such an outrageous extortion as this is" (p. 252).

The Protector, however, had other anxieties than those occasioned by fear of the Royalists. Mention has already been made of the disaster to his arms in Hispaniola. Although his enemies made the most of this, and in De Vic's eyes, for example, it was "the most shameful in all respects that can bee imagined" (p. 70), their anticipations that it would materially affect his position were hardly realised. The subject is one upon which Nicholas's correspondents, and Jane especially, have much to say, Cromwell's angry outburst against Penn on his return and the latter's spirited reply (p. 69), the committal of both Penn and Venables to the Tower, and the reasons for not bringing them to actual trial, furnishing ample matter for news and comment. As was natural, they attributed the treatment of the two commanders to Cromwell's desire to shift obloquy from himself; but, when the worst had been said, his most pertinacious critic was bound to confess that, "though he seeme streightned, yet he goes on without rubbs" (p. 147). At the same time, the financial difficulties of the Government were continually increasing. "Theire occasions and wants of money are great," quotes Col. Whitley in October, "and, unlesse some by-

way can speedily be found out, it is thought it will produce a Parliament" (p. 79). With Cromwell's experience of Parliaments, this remedy was not likely to be attractive, and, notwithstanding the "Presbyterian dream" of the enforcement of the Triennial Act, nearly a year, in fact, elapsed before it was tried (p. 291). Meanwhile, besides the Royalist tax, another "by-way" was found in the compensation paid by the Dutch to English merchants in the East Indies. This money, we are told, or a part of it, was retained by the Protector as a more or less compulsory loan, and in this and other ways his debts at the end of 1655 are said to have amounted to £1,700,000 (p. 223). Mention is also made of a proposal to re-establish the Court of Wards, with its lucrative train of fees and exactions, "though it will cause as much hatred to him as a tax" (p. 132); and it is hinted (p. 295) that the re-admission of the Jews to England was made the subject of bargaining, Cromwell saying that in itself it was "an ungodly thing."

Like the prohibition of news-books, the Court of Wards project served Jane as the text for a diatribe on the readiness of the rebels to adopt methods of government which they had formerly denounced. He is equally bitter also on the Protector's alleged intention to arrogate to himself the right of making laws preliminary to his taking the title of king or, as some expected (p. 79), of emperor. "He that hath the legislative power," he remarks with truth (p. 13), "may assume what title he will," adding "its noe wonder that any of the race of rebells scorne lawes that they pretended to fight for but never valued." According to Cardenas (p. 56) the petitions for a higher title were referred by the Protector to the Council of State, but were supported by three members only, "the rest flatly opposite, which much enraged him." If he pretended, says Col. Price, to be content with his actual title, it was solely from fear of the army (p. 45). Jane's information was to the same effect (p. 37), with the addition that even in this quarter it was rather the name than the substance which was distasteful, "unlesse some of the chieftes

not an inheritance in title and power, which may be exclusive to their hopes." As to opposition in other directions, he writes that Cromwell cared nothing for "the peevisshnes of the Presbyterian or Independent, which he sees signifies nothing and change with the moone." Col. Whitley's news-writer, however, thought otherwise, representing him as "fearefull of the Presbiterean party" (p. 79). As to the Anabaptists, he says later that they gave him "a perpetuall alarme with their bolde prints and language" (p. 254). Harassed as the Protector was, and beset with dangers, it is not surprising that we hear of his being sick both in mind and body, and it is evident from the frequent references to his ill-health that his strength was failing. In September, 1655, a report was current that he was actually dead, though "others saide that hee was falm into one of his madd fitts, like to that att Edinburg" (p. 61). The report originated from the death of his nonagenarian uncle, Sir Oliver Cromwell, of Hinchinbroke (p. 64), but the fact that he was suffering at the time from a "stone-chollick" (p. 62) gained it easier credence. Col. Whitley, on 1st February, 1656, writes that he was again very ill. This time it was from "a great swelling on his brest below his clavis," from the effect of "wearinge of armes or something else," which, however, "his chirurgeon (a great curer of the French pox) doubts not but to cure" (p. 263). "Yet this," the writer continues, "I am assured from very good hands that he is soe often and greatly indisposed that it is thought he will not live long."

Apart from his hostile measures against Spain already alluded to, Cromwell's activity and influence in foreign affairs are manifest throughout the volume. By the middle of 1655 he had "in a great measure worne out the odium with strangers" (p. 11), so much so that at Paris there were many "base enough to wish the French King married to Cromwell's daughter" (p. 3). As matters stood between the two kingdoms, a rupture with Spain almost necessarily involved an agreement with France. His first step in this direction was to revoke all letters of marque against

the French on 12th July (p. 23), and it was followed by the formal treaty signed on 3rd November, new style. What most excited Royalist disgust in the treaty was the supplementary article by which Charles, his two brothers, and seventeen of his principal supporters were excluded from French territory. This struck a blow at the hopes of those who, as Jane scornfully remarks, "still cast an eye to France as the deliverer" (p. 132); and the ingratitude shown in particular to the Duke of York, who was serving France as Lieut.-General of the army under Turenne, seems to have been resented as an "unwourthy act" by the French themselves (p. 130). At the same time it relieved him from a dilemma, for, as Jane points out, he could hardly continue fighting for France against Spain, "if the Spaniard breake with Cromwell and take in the Kinge" (p. 240). In the Duke's case, however, the treaty seems to have been interpreted with some laxity. According to Hatton, he was still at Paris in July, 1656, though "he hath nothing here but disrespects" (p. 281). De Vic's view, expressed on 3rd January, 1656 (p. 231), was that the object of France was merely to secure an advantage, by having Cromwell's weight on her side, in treating for a general peace, "and that once attained, that treaty will cease."

If the French agreement was a menace to Spain, Cromwell's negotiations with Sweden, resulting in the treaty of July, 1656, were a continual source of apprehension to the Dutch. At the beginning of the volume the latter are represented as unwilling to hear a word against him, though they did "thinke he will get the trade as much as possible" (p. 23). This feeling of security in his good intentions, however, did not last long. On 12th October we find Jane writing, "Though Cromwell be in great esteeme here, yet I beleeeve they love him not." The immediate cause of the change was his rigorous exercise of the right of search at sea, "soe as they bear his yoke with great reluctancy" (p. 77). The continued success of the Swedes in Poland and latterly against Brandenburg on the Baltic, coupled with suspicions of a secret understanding

between the Protector and Charles Gustavus, increased their alarm. "Certainly they will breake," writes Jane on 26th October (p. 96), "rather then lose the freedome of the Baltique Sea"; and again a week later, "I finde the Dutch are very sensible of Cromwells designe upon their trade and that, seeinge by the peace he cannot directly fall on them in the voyages to the west, he will doe it by another hand in the east" (p. 104). The Dutch view is given by Renswoude, one of themselves, on the same day, "Wee doe apprehend very much the proceedings of the King of Sweden in Poland, and the more because wee beleewe hee is countenanced by Cromwell and perhaps by France, the first to winne our trade in the east and by consequence in the west, and the other for the affaires in Germany against the House of Austria" (p. 107). But although their chief anxiety was on account of their Baltic trade, "for its impossible to kepe the people quiett if that be curbed, for there is their bread" (p. 117), they had another cause for uneasiness. "The stinging business," says Norwich, "is the league betweene France, Sweade, and Cromwell, which alarms the Hollanders to the quick" (p. 221). Hitherto they had thriven on the rivalry of France and Spain in the Netherlands, and the prospect of seeing the latter crushed and ousted by a coalition was not to their liking. They were therefore as anxious to avert a war between England and Spain as the Royalists were to provoke it. "I beginne to feare a peace," writes Langdale from Brussels on 27th December (p. 220); "the Holland Ambassador labours it, and in case it cannot be had, that state is resolved to engage with the Spaniard rather then Flanders shall be taken from the Spaniard either by French or English."

This was the situation at the end of 1655, and the same attitude of suspense and mistrust, without any overt act of hostility, was maintained during the remaining twelve months dealt with in this volume. The letters of 1656 are, however, comparatively few, and they include very little on the subject, neither Cromwell's own treaty with the Swedes nor his efforts to reconcile conflicting interests and unite Swedes and Dutch alike in a Protestant

League being mentioned. At the same time, the influence he exercised abroad was patent to all. One instance of it is worth notice for its undesigned consequences. According to Jane, who had good opportunities of knowing at the Hague, it was by Cromwell's means that the projected marriage of the Princess Sophia, daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, to the Count Palatine of Zweibrücken, the King of Sweden's brother, was broken off (p. 258). Possibly, as is hinted, Cromwell may have hoped to secure the Swedish match for his own daughter, but it is incredible that he can have had any thoughts whatever of another suggested son-in-law, Mazarin's nephew, Mancini (p. 224). Among the earlier letters of 1656 there are three which show some of the dangers he had to guard against. One letter is from Sir John Marlay, who defended Newcastle against the Scots in 1644. Judging from his equivocal action in offering his services to Thurloe in 1658 (p. 258, note), his good faith is not above suspicion, nor does he say upon what grounds he now believed that Lambert and Monk, Fairfax and "Howard of the North" were ready to restore the King if properly approached. But, unless he was romancing, the last-named at least, Col. Charles Howard, Deputy for Lambert as Major-General of the northern counties, must have made advances in that direction. Although Monk is styled by Capt. Mews (p. 92) a "perfect rebell" and creature of Cromwell, the Royalists had clearly begun to entertain hopes of him, as well as of Fairfax, but it was probably for no other reason than the belief that he must be jealous of Cromwell's ascendancy. "I beleeeve," writes Jane (p. 125), "that Monke and the rest of his commanders know themselves unable to make a party against Cromwell for themselves and dare not venture on the Kinges interest and therefore may be played like pawnes at chesse as he pleaseth." The name that excites most surprise is that of Lambert, yet Manning the spy had written not long before that the Royalists "do not stick to say that Lambert is no ennemy to them" (p. 178), and reports were current in January, 1656, that he and the Protector had fallen out (p. 246). Another danger

that menaced the latter was more pressing and serious. The two cipher-letters of Nicholas to Thomas Ross, a Royalist agent, of whom we shall hear more in the next volume, leave no doubt of a plot for his assassination which only wanted the King's consent to be put into execution; but, although Nicholas gave his own approval to "so glorious an act" unreservedly, he refused point-blank to lay the proposal before the King. His motive for this can only be conjectured; probably it was less from the belief that Charles would reject it than because he preferred to leave him free, whatever the result of the plot, to disown all knowledge of it. If he had suspected a trap, he would have been more chary in what he said on his own account.

By this time active negotiations were going on for the King's removal from Cologne to the Spanish Netherlands. Ormonde had paid a secret visit for the purpose to Brussels in January, 1656, and he was there again two months later with Charles himself (p. 271). In his letters to Nicholas, which we owe to their temporary separation, he makes excuses for the slowness of the Spaniards, which he thought not unreasonable (p. 271). Jane, on the contrary, attributed it to their lingering hopes of an accommodation with Cromwell. "If the villayne," he writes, "could be bowed to a peace, [they] would still take it; and the protraction of this treaty makes it evident they have expectations of it still" (p. 273). When the treaty to which the Royalists had so eagerly looked forward was at length concluded on 12th April, it is hard to say what they gained by it, except a new place of residence for the King and an allowance for his support. To Charles, indeed, the pension was all-important. His necessities were so great that on removing from Cologne he was compelled to leave his household "in pawne there till hee shall bee able to redeeme it" (p. 272), and when in Ormonde's letter of 14th April he is said to be on the point of going to Bruges, which had been fixed upon for his residence, it is with the proviso, "if hee have mony enough to carry him" (p. 274). Happily both these difficulties were somehow surmounted. Before the end of the month

he was in Bruges staying "at my Lord of Taraghs,^a very civilly used" (p. 278), until his own house could be prepared, and on 7th May Ormonde conveys to Nicholas permission to join him. The Secretary's removal to Bruges of course accounts for his correspondence with Ormonde coming to an end, but there must be some other reason for the paucity of other letters during the rest of the year. Only five in fact remain that are of sufficient interest to print, two from Lord Hatton and three from Sir Richard Browne, representing but a small proportion of the number he must have received.

G. F. W.

1 *July*, 1897.

^a A son of the well-known General Preston, 1st Viscount Tara. A letter in this volume (p. 91) gives the date of the latter's death, hitherto doubtful.

ERRATUM.

Page 60, line 14—

For " Duke of Ormonde," read " Marquis of Ormonde."

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

EARL OF NORWICH.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Antwerp, July 2, 1655.

Since yours of the 18 I haue not receiued any, though [I have] Eg. 2535, f. 297.
written to you twise about y^t which *I* conceiued of noe smale
importance, but litle, as it seemes by these two inclosed from a
Jesuit commanded to attend the *Co. Fuensaldagne*,^a whoe is the
Earle therein mentioned. I doe beleeeve theyre feare to offend as
yet is great, but the mayne obstacle is that *the Spaniard* is now,
I am confident, [afraid] least *wee* should know what he is now
working in Engl^d about Cromwells death, which is certainly trew^b;
which if it *take effect*, we shall haue the prime aduantadge, and
then what will *Spain* doe without *vs*? But whoe soe blinde as they
y^t will not see? They are besides affrayde y^t it wilbe discouered
from *Collogne* to *Cromwell*, where his *spyes are*. This being soe,
Ea. Norwich knowes noe more to be donne at present then to

^a Alonso Perez di Vivero, Count of Fuensaldagna, commanding the Spanish forces in the Netherlands.

^b See his letter of 25 June, in vol. ii. p. 351, the "great Leveller," mentioned below being Col. Edward Sexby.

1655. leaue the ball at theyre feete where it is, til they call vppon *vs*, which if they doe not, and y^t speedily, *I am* much deceiued, as ere long by my greate *Leveller* (the *Spaniards* fauourit, and by whome *he* cheefly *workes*) *I shall know more* ere long. In the meane time, be sure *you* loose not *France*, from whence by my *Lo. Balcaris* *you will know more*, whoe wilbe with [you] from this place the next weeke, arriuing heere two days since. I must, if I haue noe supply, eyther be vtterly disgraced for euer, or retire quite out of the way till I can get somewhat from *England*, to which end I haue bin this last weeke at Bruges and Ghent with a neighbouring *lady* of *Norwichs*, a wise person, and y^t hath great credit with all his freinds there. And therefore let me now with y^e first know what I may trust to, directing your letters, as formerly, to this towne and the *mony*, if any, to Van Postell by bill of exchange, a thing more to be feared then hoped. To saue my life I know not where to borrow ten patacons^a more; of which this is enough to such a freind. The generall dislike that *Spayne* as well as *France* hath taken against *Sir E. H[yde]* is not to be expressed, and as litle to be allayed, vnlesse, by his owne discretion and for his *Ma^{tes}* seruice, as that tide now runnes, he absent himselfe, which, as his frend and my masters seruant, I hartily wishe, till this tempest be ouer, for realy I think him trewly honest and very able too, if he vndertooke not to much, which whosoeuer doth will haue noe more strength then a childe. And heeres my bolt. All in *England* goes *well* for *vs* and *our* saluation nearer then when (vppon such loose grounds) we beleueed it. Y^e *declaration* wilbe much pressed by *Lo. Balcaris*, which must be well waighed, that all parties may haue security, which breefly must be by a *Parliament* and *Sinnod*, which will, my life for it, be wiser then the former, howsoeuer *his Mat^{ie}* better provided and *armed* too. All heere goes backward, and [it is] sayd y^t theyre Army hath had a blow before Landrasy, with much more then I dare as yet relate

^a Patacon, a Spanish silver coin, value about half-a-crown.

vppon such flying reports. But this is most certeyne, y^t *Norwich* 1655.
is *Se. Nicholas* his seruant and freind to the death, through thicke
and thinne.

S.S.S.S.

My demanding of a passe in France without the assistance of
the Pallais Royale caused much scanning thereon, of which more
when I shall haue probed it a litle farther. Let his *Ma^{tie}* be con-
fident y^t, how much soeuer *Ea. Norwich* is layd by, he shall neuer
forget himsele nor his beloued masters interest, which next his
saluation he tends with the greatest devotion. In all my life I
neuer was soe put to my shifts; but tis my God's will and I cheere-
fully withould father Abraham submit, going out, thought I know
not whither.

A monsieur,

MONSIEUR NICHOLAS,

premier Secretaire de sa Ma^{te} de

La Grande Brittagne à Collogne.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

Paris, 2^o July, 1655, st. no.

. . . . They talke very much of the French K's marrieing the f. 299.
Cardinals niecee,^a if this campagnia end but vpon euen termes with
the enemy, and I doe assure you they are not all Ignorants that doe
suspect it. And yet there want not many heere base enough to
wish the French King married to Cromwells daughter; in soe
much as it is incredible to heare how base and low the spirits of
this nation are fallen. Yet the Huguenots perke vp in hope of a
Protestant Ligue betwixt Cromwell, the Swead, the Swisses, &c.,
vpon this bussines of the Sauoy massacre. My Lo. Jarmin is gone
to the French Court (the Queene the meane while into the nunnery)

^a Olympia Mancini (see vol. ii. p. 315).

1655. to sollicite that the Duke of Yorke may come to the French Court or Army; for now *Pallais Royale* labor for life to procure some entertainment *here in France for the D. Yorke*, thereby to preuent *Du. Yorkes voyage vnto Cologne*, which *S^r Jo. Berkeley* and the crue much dread and abhorr. I find they promise themselues yett interest in *the King*, if they can retaine *Lo. Balcarres* and ruine *S^r E. Hyde*, which is as publick discourse as ridiculous, and is the *Pallais Royale* language as common as "Good morrow" or "Good euen." *Lo. Percy* is as high that way as any, and great ioy was heere for *Lo. Rochesters*^a returne to you there, expressedly for that cause and not for his person. I pray God the present distractions in England haue not root hence. For I am confident their mallice to *S^r E. H.* is at that height they would ruine all *the Kings* hopes as well as designes present to destroy *Sir E. H.* *The Queenes* late sicknes was by the chamber confidents said to be expressed by *the Queene* by reason of some late letters from *the young Pr^{esse} Orange*, wherein shee still contests for retaining with her *Sir E. H. daughter*,^b which *the Queene* will not cease till shee out her there. This, I assure you, comes from eare witnesses, though I doubt not *Sir E. H.* hath better intelligence or at least reason enough to slite any comes soe poore a way as mine. *Mr. Bennet* is in as much contempt as you can suppose him, and yett wants not *the Kings* frequent letters to cheere him yp, which is soe carried as that the *Pallais Royale* know of each of them. *Du. Yorke* [is] totally charmed by *Lo. Jermyn* and *Sir Jo. Berkeley*, and very free against *S^r E. H.*, I hope only in compliance, though I like not that nether. He eates oftneest at *Lo. Jermyn* and hath such companions at table as were not want to sett att as meane tables as mine. The disorders of the Cardinall nephewes^c to *Lo.*

^a He had escaped from England and landed at Flushing (see vol. ii. pp. 296, 328).

^b For a letter of Sir E. Hyde to Lady Stanhope on the Queen's feeling towards his daughter Anne, see *Clar. St. Pap.* vol. iii. p. 274.

^c Presumably Philippe and Alphonse Mancini, nephews of Cardinal Mazarin, but at this time they were boys of 14 and 11 years respectively.

Jermyn and *S^r J. Berkeley* are to many and to low for your eares, but yet very highly borne out. Whilst wee on this side the water trifle out with giuing way to all humors and factions, Cromwell resolues to leaue none in England that are not of his humour and faction. The list of the comitted is, I suppose, sent you, wherein, besides *L. Louelace*, *L. Newport* of Shropshire and his brother,^a *Jeffrie Palmer* the lawyer, *M^r Hen. Seamour* (not yet well recovered of his last imprisonment), *Lo. Lindsey* mildly bid keepe home, *S^r Orlando Bridgeman* vpon his parole and *S^r Rob. Shirley* vpon the like termes, there are allsoe comitted *S^r Fred. Cornwallis*, *M^r Edward Progers*, one *M^r Painton*; you will see diuers others, and yet many comitments in the contrey were not yet certified vp to London. This, they say, is the effects of the late designe and will not end heare; it is verily beleueed he will now pick vp one by one all that he cannot there confide in and send them away to the Indies and Barbadoes, etc., as some are allready sent, and your deare frend *M^r John Ashburnham* to *Garnsey*, att which they giue out he is run mad, but I beleuee it is only a violent rage to be soe vsed by those he hath serued soe well and made such applications vnto. Will *Ashburnham* is as yett at *Deale Castle* vpon his parole and vpon pretext of sicknes. I haue had lately some very sober and sollid discourse with a most worthy person in your esteeme and all that know him concerning vsefull seruices at present for *the King*, but cannot persuaade him to open himselfe soe farr as to discouer it at *Cologne*; for he tells me he hath experimented that, if things there pass any hand but one, they are ipso facto crossed and whilst those people affect singularity and supremacy he will not meddle. Truly I am confident it would at least gett money and, if the *Pallais Royale* say true, that is wanting at present at *Cologne*,

^a The Council Warrant of 9 June was for the committal of Francis Newport, Lord Newport, and Andrew his brother, Jeffrey Palmer, Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Henry Seymour to the Tower, and of Sir Fred. Cornwallis, Edw. Progers, Tho. Panton, and Maj.-Gen. Ayres, to the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms (*Cal. St. Pap.* pp. 204, 588). See Godwin, *Hist. of Commonwealth*, iv. p. 223.

1655. where the *Pallais Royale* say was lately held a *Councell* (the first had bin of a long tyme) only to the end to gett *money*, whereat were some more skillfull to spend it then knowing or powerfull by any interest to gett it. They say that *the Princesse Royale* will be in a little hott water by her coming to driue away a present qualme, since shee will keepe the Table. They say shee allowes *the King two thousand* per annum. I wish it manifold more. They say besides shee maintaines *Du. Glos.*, and that *Da. Oneilè* by his shee frend^a and *Da. Oneile*^b and *Sr E. H.* his hee frends is to be Governor vnto *Du. Glo.* in effect, sine Titulo; perhaps that may be the modesty of the first scene.

They say, and in many particulars wee find, *your groomes of the Bedchamber* [are] *Hogen Mogens* and effect those things that are denied by your Grand Ministers of State to their frends. It will be a lesson to some (though not to all, at least to me) to goe the preuailing way, and that at last may haue an ill effect. Howeuer wee heare many extravagancies by *the Pallais Royale* way, yet experience teacheth vs wee learne many vnhappy trutthes confirmed to vs by tyme. And they are yet to be comended at *the Pallais Royale* for constancy and sincerity in their frendship to those of their party, which whoeuer practise not will feeles the fruits of it by a retribution and retaliation sometimes vnexpected; for it is noe new thing to find the greatest fauorites ouerrun some tyme by those they thought they had left farr enough behind. I neuer feared our affaires in England soe much as now and yet I doe not think them desperate, if they were treated by a consultation of well chosen experienced and frenlly state Phisitions. But empericks and such as mount the bank single will neuer doe it. And truly our fate is hard, since there be enough vpon the place to doe the deed, if they could but ioyne. And I thinke noe man absent

^a Probably Catharine, Lady Stanhope, wife of John Poliander van Kirckhoven, Heer van Heenvliet, after whose death she married O'Neill.

^b "578" in the cipher, used for O'Neill just before, but there must be some mistake.

fitt that thinkes his presence there necessary to the great worke. 1655.
And if those there think themselues not enough, they might haue remedied that without partiality to any person, since I am sure when *the King* went hence his party were soe satisfied with those he valued most in his affaires that they might haue had in their assistance there or elsewhere who they had pleased, but [it] seemes their choice was little. Indeed, had men sought them or offred themselues for support or selfe ends, it was a tyme not to listen. But when there can be noe kind of imployment for those that would serue at their owne charge, I (*i.e.* aye) and contribute too, and that promises are not to [be] kept with some, whilst the same actions are performed to others that might haue bin as well passed ouer, whether it be contempt or ne[g]lect or what else they would shew matters not. I pray God send good success to them that consult the Kings affairs, and as for those that regard more theyre owne greatnes and faction, they need noe curse; they will find there errors to late. I find very many will quit England and retire to obscure corners, shunning our courts abroad; I doubt it will be of ill consequence. They haue conceaued a very great dread at this sending away persons to remote corners; and though truely and seriously I doubt not but the late plot in relation whereto the King moued was well laied, yet I assure you as honest men as any are in England, and not of the weakest ranq, are abundantly vnsatisfied with it, and that is a great misfortune, be the plot neuer soe good. And assuredly the open talking of all things at *the Pallais Royale*, and the infinit company of spies that pass through euery where there, does doe infinit mischief in England. And the odd people in your court there that advertise mistaken things hither doe wonderfully preiudice the Kings affaires, and soe it will be whilst it is thought soe reasonable a thing that a court should be vnreformed and those thought ridiculous that wish it otherwise. I thank God I am confined to the low culture of my garden, where I pluck vp weedes with soe much more dilligence and perseuerance as I am assured they will obtrud and thrust in againe,

1655. and by that meanes I saue many good plants and fine flowers that would be choked by them. I haue priuate content enough not to leaue for anything but my duty, and, that being reiected, I haue nothing on my conscience vpon that score. In all conditions I am yours vnfaiedly, and I beseech you beleuee in my retired condition flattery were as vseless to me as vnnaturall, and therefore I speake truth and say I am, Sir,

Yours.

Unsigned; endorsed by Sir E. Nicholas, Mr. Smith.^a

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 2 Jul. 1655.

f. 301. You will finde by the books there is great like of new things in England by Cromwell makinge new officers, and I cannot coniecture the meanyng of Rolls writ of ease^b or giving vpp his place. Besides what the books speake of commitments there are letters that mencion many more, my L. of Bedford, Camden, North[amp]ton,^c and I am told [of] a sonne of the L. Brudnell,^d y^t came out of London but on Monday last, who reports he came away for feare of the like measure. Some say Norwoode^e and others are sent to Barbados. H. Sested, the Dane,^f is here, but I heare

^a Simon Smith, Hatton's pseudonym (see vol. i. p. 201).

^b Henry Rolle, Chief Justice of the Upper Bench, who resigned his office 7 June, 1655, rather than give judgment against Geo. Cony (see vol. ii. p. 331).

^c He was allowed, 4 July, to go to his house at Banbury under bond not to remove without licence (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 591).

^d A pass for Robert Brudenell to go to Holland was given on 12 June (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 588).

^e Major Henry Norwood, arrested at the beginning of the year (see his examinations, 29 Jan. in *Thurloe St. Pap.* iii. pp. 65, 130). He was not sent to Barbados, but was confined in the Tower and (from Feb. 1654 $\frac{1}{2}$) in the Channel Islands until Jan. 1658, when he was released on bond (*Cal. St. Pap.* 1656-7, p. 291, 1657-8, p. 523, 1658-9, p. 260).

Hannibal, Count of Seestedt (see vol. ii. p. 239).

nothing of his busines. This mornyng I heard y^t Bredrode^a had sent word that he expects the Princes of the house of Nassau may not be excused from serving vnder him. Its reported by some y^t vndertake to know much that the Lady Morgan^b in England writes to her friends that there is a like of great troubles in England and therefore advises and desires care to be taken of her estate on this side the sea. What the suspition is I cannot discerne; but certenly many of those y^t are committed will never appeare guilty of any plott. There is a report here that the Turke hath seized all the English merchants persons and goods and made them slaves and that Bendish^c offring to intercede was eaned by the Basse. This I was told was written to the French Amb^r from the French Resident att Constantinople. I shall not trouble you further at this tyme, since the books have all that I cann say, saving the names of some persons taken vpp, among whom I heare is my Lo. of Devon^d 1655.

I am,
Your honours faithfull servant,
JOSEPH JANE.

EARL OF NORWICH.

Antwerp, now going to Breda for shelter,
July 6, 1665.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

. . . . Let me, my deare Secretary, haue your cleere present answer heerevnto (being at this instant, by not yet hearing from f. 307.

^a Jan Wolfert van Brederode, Heer van Cloetingen, commanding the Dutch forces. He died 3 Sept. following.

^b Probably Ann, d. and h. of Sir Charles Morgan, of Pencarn, and widow of Sir Lewis Morgan, of Rhiwperra; her mother was Elizabeth, d. of Phil. van Marnix, Heer van St. Aldegonde (see Clark, *Limbus Patrum Morganicæ*, pp. 319, 327).

^c Sir Thomas Bendish, Ambassador at Constantinople, 1647-1662 (see vol. i. p. 77).

^d William Cavendish, 3rd Earl of Devonshire. His arrest seems to have excited surprise on both sides (see letters of Manning, the spy, and of Sir E. Nicholas, the latter to Jos. Jane, in *Cul. St. Pap.* p. 220).

1655. poore Reade^a since his being out of prison, pressed to my last suffering), y^t accordingly I may eyther retire into some whole or appeare with more vigueur then euer in the pursuance of his Ma^{ties} service, wherein I finde dayly more life then euer, *the Spaniard* being certainly closer and more resolutly at worke then euer, and altogether (which since my last commes to me seuerall other wayes) *the Leveller*,^b the principall whereof I formerly wrote to you, being hard at work about it. But *the Spaniard* will not as yet appeare to vs to be engaged therein, for feare of discouery; of which I shall let *Se. Ni.* know more and to more purpose ere long, if I be not forced in the interim to starue in a pit. *Ogniati* is close at watch and expects dayly to be called to court; and my *Jesuit* is as litle idle. My lord Belcaris went from Breda towards Collogne yeasterday. My lord Northumberland makes one of the 12 lords committed, besides 500 others, for y^e liberty of y^e subiect. This weekes letters will bring much with them, but till the successe of Pens Fleete arriue all will not be knowne y^t is intended. I am all yours to y^e death and now in much haste.

S. S.

S.

I pray, Sir, addresse and send your next to Breda.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 6 Jul. 1655.

f. 308.

I received both your 29 of last^c and 2 present by this post and am glad there proved noe miscarriage. The newes holds still of the committed lords; I am now told of my Lo. of Strafford. I beleeeve he [*sc.* Cromwell] will putt them to some oath or engagement as a preparation to his intended title; and if there be any

^a Lieut. James Reade (see vol. ii. pp. 202, 351). He had made a bold attempt to escape from the Tower in Mar. 165 $\frac{1}{2}$ (*Thurloe St. Pap.* iii. p. 192).

^b Col. Edward Sexby (see vol. ii. p. 298 *sqq.*).

^c For this letter see *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 221.

inclination in the people against his proceedinges, he will take from them such as be in any consideracion like to be leaders. And his letters hither touchinge the busines of Savoy import that he would involve himselfe in the opinion of the Protestantes. He hath in a great measure worne out the odium with strangers, and now all their humour is exercised on the nationall disposition of the English, that not only croach downe betwene their burthens but abiure their honour in worshipping such a leader of the rabble as now reignes over them, and that there is noe indignation at such a base vsurpacion. And truly, for all that ever I could heare, the disposition of those in England is not at all moved by the former condition of this Rascall nor the ignominy of such a change by a courte of the ofscowring of the people both in state and manners. I know not the truth of sending for the sheriffs, but the report continues and I believe it imports a change. One told me y^t at the Dutch Ambassadors in England it was reported that it would be proclaymed that day that the legislative power was in the Protector and Councell. I heare y^t M^r. Armorer says that M^r. Lovell^a is committed to the Tower. I beleeeve not the creacion of Venables^b baron of Chester, it being an Earldome and soe great a title as belonged to the Kings eldest sonne; but nothinge is strange I beleeeve none of the military Presbiterians will lay hold on an opportunity vnlesse it be such as they discerne the other factions destroyed or distracted to a very great measure and, if they move and wee sit still, actum est. The newes of my lo. Northth. was Mons^r Henvliets. I heare that you will have a full fleete of Presbiterians shortly. My Lo. Belcaires is with you; they say Massy, Bunce and the whole body. I cannot thinke a wise man cann beleeeve the K. cann come in vpon the Presbiterian score, and

Richard Lovell, tutor to the Duke of Gloucester (vol. ii. p. 5).

^b Gen. Robert Venables, commanding the troops on the expedition to the W. Indies. He was of a Cheshire family and his ancestors had been barons of Kinderton (*Some Account of Gen. R. Venables*, Chetham Miscellanies, vol. iv. 1862), which was perhaps the origin of the *canard*.

1655. I am sure its only prudence they offer for it, not conscience, and doe not thinke y^t it is agreable to monarchy, but y^t they must be pleased for the present, though surely they will not be cosened, and some meane they shall not, whatever they say. I professe, when I reflect on the dispositions among ourselves, its more formidable to me then the rebells power. Men would have they know not what, or anything but what is. I heard (but it was from a woman) that Jamett ^a now at Antwerp is much discontented and thinks himselfe ill vsed. He sayes noe mans interest in England is equall to Sr Marmaduke Langdalls and that a great part of the late misfortune was by not imploying him. I thought the man had beene of better humour, but it was told me he is very vehement. If wee shall againe thinke of embracing the Presbiterian power, if wee loose not the best assured of our owne, yet wee may iustly feare that there will follow a want of confidence from soe often changes, and its very ominous in vndertakings

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

HONBLE. S^r,

- f. 313. I give yow many thankes for your letter of the 2th of July. I beseeche yow deliuer this inclosed to His Ma^{ty} with the tender of my most humble duty. The Marquesse of Leid ^b is arriued here in this towne, most men thinke re infecta; others beleiue some secret treaty betwene Cromwell and the Spaniard, and say that the Marquesse of Leide either was desired to stay or is to retourne. A freinde of mine, that I beleiue knowes much, upon my dis-

^a Col. Jammott or Jamott (vol. ii. p. 205).

^b Guillaume Bette, Marquis de Lede, Spanish Governor of Dunkirk, who had been on a special mission to England.

coursinge with him of Cromwells takinge the West Indies, wished 1655.
me to suspend my judgement a while, for I should finde noe harme
donne to the Spaniardes by Cromwell. Its said the French
Ambassadour beginnes to suspecte somthinge. He demandes the
peace to be signed or leaue to retourne

Your most humble and most faithfull seruant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

Bruxells,
8th Julij, 1655.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 9 July, 1655.

. . . . It may probably be that Cr. will assume a legislative f. 315.
power before he proceede to his title, for that is an easy stepp.
He that hath the legislative power may assume what title he will.
Its noe wonder that any of the race of rebells scorne lawes that
they pretended to fight for, but never valued, and from the first
hower that they gave an opinion of power in the parliament brake
all the lawes and rules they pretended to be fundamentall to the
government.

I finde vpon conference with some here a concurrence of what
formerly I wrote you touchinge some capitulation with the Presbi-
terian vnder the name of indempnity and reward in case of great
merit. I askt how should there be any assurance of their activity
and that those negotiators here have such influence on their
correspondents in England, and they on a considerable part there,
as may be fit for any engagement. I perceiue there is little to be
said to that. I askt the nature of the reward—it concluded in an
exclusion of some others; but long demanded whether without
cause—it could not be avowed. I finde there is much brangling,
but nothing that cann reasonably be layed hold of, and I beleeeve
the designes of that generation are as fraudulent and trayterous as
ever. The committments continue and increase; I cannot con-
iecture the end, vnlesse he intend to trye whether they will take

1655. some oath to him or adiuration of the Kinge. I heare Nuport^a from England and Borrell from France write that Penn hath taken Cuba and other places, but its not likely. From whence should it come? My Lo. Culpeper comes to you, but in his parting he had an vnhappy rubb. Yesterday, beinge at the ordinary with Mons^r Han. Sisted the Dane, and having dranke not much, yet in some disorder, [he] tooke some excepcion at Sisteds words and sent him a challenge by Capt. Mewes; but it was perceived and prevented. I presume you will heare the particulars from others. I heare that my Lo. speaking of nombers in arithmetique, thother related a play he had seene in England where on saying 6 and 3 made nyne, another sayed y^t five and three made 8 and a box on the eare made 9. My Lo. apprehended this to allude to what he had from Sir R. Welsh,^b which thother never heard of. The busines sounds ill to vs, and I heare Sisted, being bound for Cologne, sayed that my Lo. did noe good service to his King at this tyme. At the same tyme, my Lo. saying an English gent. was as good as a Dane, Mr. Vickford^c sayed the Danes had the choise of their King, which the English had not; whereon my Lo. tooke him by the armes and pluckt him over his knee, as children are whipt, and after pluckt him by the nose, but some tyme being past he kist him very lovingly. This story I beleewe wilbe the harbinger of my Lords commynge to you. They say Sisted professes great love to the English, and some are sorry in that respect for the accident, not knowing his busines to the Kinge.

. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

^a Willem Nieupoort, Dutch Ambassador at London. "Borrell" is Willem Boreel (Sir William, Bart.), Dutch Ambassador at Paris.

^b This alludes to the assault upon Colepeper by Sir Rob. Walsh or Welch, 23 Oct. 1648, for opposing his appointment as prize-agent (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

^c Joachim Wicquefort, Resident at the Hague for the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel (vol. ii. p. 2).

EARL OF NORWICH.

1655.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Breda, July 11, 1655.

f. 317.

Your fauour of the 6 I iust now receiued, and not noe sooner decypherd, but imediately set pen to paper to returne you this answer, fearing I may remoue tomorrow into some freshe pastor, for, since I see noe hope of *mony* from *your Court*, I must retire where I may mend my ould breeches and put a crust of new bread in my belly without farther disgrace in soe visible a place. I beseeche you still continue me in your good oppinion and what you addresse to me, let it be by the hands of my trew freind Cap-tayne Skelton, whoe shall euer know where I am. I shall only apply my selfe in answer to two points of yours. The first, that *Sazby* may well be a *Knave* for ought y^t I know. But *Norwich* knowes full wel, and soe doe many other, y^t *he is no foole*. And I haue good reason to beleeeue he is a *iesuited Catholique* and was at *Ostend* when *Norwich* wrote you word he was, and I know for certayne close at the mayne worke, being principally imployed by the *Spanyard* to that end *Norwich* formerly informed you of. The second point is touching y^t of the *Spaniards* good oppinion of *S^r E. H.*, which I say is not at all at present, beleeeue you as *Se. Ni.* pleaseth, and remember what *Norwich* tells you. And as for *S^r E. H.*'s abilities, I beleeeue them much better with *his pen* then I doe beleeeue his actiuity (which you mention) any other way, and I, that wishe as well to *his Ma^{tes}* interest as another or any other, am of this oppinion, y^t, whilst *he* thus absolutly stands at *helme*, you will hardly see many y^t will pull at a rope or mannadge a sayle, for 'tis not now a time to compliment, when all lyes at stake. Dixi.

And soe God blesse his Ma^{ty}, as my soule howerly prayes for him, and as I shall drop my last drop of my colde vaynes, but warme heart, for him, which I humbly beseeche you to assure him from

1655. his all vowed dutifull seruant and subiect, and yours as your oone from top to toe, through and through,

S. S.

S.

The Spanyard is sufficiently informed of the danger *he* runnes if he loose this opportunity of *ioyning with the King*. And *I* haue sufficiently instructed a prime minister y^t went directly last weeke for *Spayn*, whoe my *son* writes *Norwich* word is most intrusted there. Adieu.

And know y^t it ought to be donne. *I* wilbe one; if not, share it amongst *you*.

SIR ALEXANDER HUME.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Hunslardye, $\frac{1}{2}$ July, 1655.

f. 321.

. . . . I beleuee you long with me to know assuredly what there is of that report concerning Pens taking of S. Domingo, and what the euent will be of that expedition, vpon which without dout there will much depend in order to his Ma^{ties} intereste. For, me thinks, after this attempt the Spanyards should understand Crumwell for their declared enemy, and should thereupon be apt to wed the Kings cause in a vigorous maner; but I wish they may not so long defer to doe it till they be disinabled to help him or themselves, which in all appearance they will be, if the Indies be made unusefull to them. The last week her Royall Highnesse had a letter from her brother the Duke of Yorke, that he wes in hope to be this summer permitted to goe to the field, which would argue small expectation of their closing of the treaty with Crumwell. Wee begin now to thinke the Sweds haue no designe vpon us at present, nor do I hear they haue any great apprehension of the Elector of Brandenburg, though his agent Weyman haue moued some things which retarde the closing of their allyance with him,

the chief whereof, as I understand, is to haue the Electors name sett down first in the counterparte of the instrument of the treaty, which the States make difficulty to assent to or to allow him a parity with them.^a How this will be ajusted I do not knowe. 1655.

I presume before this time you haue my cuntryman the Lord Balcarres and his lady with you at Collen. The lord Culpeper, as wee thought, wes to haue been gone the last week, but I hear he went from the Hage only yesterday to Leyden, and this day from thence to Amsterdam, from whence he is to go on towards Utrecht and so to Collen, so as probably it will be the end of this week before he arriue there. I doute not but you haue by the last post from the Hage understoud of a misunderstanding he had with Monsieur Hanniball Sesteed at a meeting they had where they ained together with my lord Taffe and some others, after plenty of cups on all hands, which proceeded so farre that a challenge wes sent by Culpepper, but not deliuered to the other, being preuented by the charitable care of Doctor Morley^b and some others that came to hear of it, who aduertised the States, and command straight was giuen to the Captain of the Guardie that had the watch to sett guardes upon them, whereby the hurt wes preuented and they made friends by the interposition of Monsieur Nortwich and Col. Killigrew,^c who were deputed by the States for that purpose . . .

Your most affectionat and humble seruant,

H. A.

^a The treaty, for a defensive alliance, was signed on 27 July (Dumont, *Corps Dipl.* vi, part ii. p. 108), the Elector's name not having the first place.

^b George Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester (vol. i. p. 208).

^c William Killigrew, colonel in the Dutch service (vol. ii. p. 85). "Nortwich" no doubt represents the Dutch Noordwijk.

1655.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 13 Jul. 1655.

f. 323.

. . . . I gave your letter to 613,^a and was his interpreter as formerly. He continues confirmed in his opinion of our misfortunes and the great vnlikelyhoode of any sudden remedy. Cr[omwell's] death is the sole medecyne, but God hath other wayes, though wee see them not. There is a great difference betwene the obligacion of forreyne princes and English subiects; thone lookes on the nation and the power of it and the necessity of domesticke affaires, which make a compliance to advantage, thother are vnder a servitude, losse of honour, hazard of faith, and without their owne endeavours endlesse, whereas thothers have an hope to greaten themselves soe much as they may gayne a mastery by forbearance. Thone suffers some inconveniences, thother looses all that is iust, safe, hono^{ble} or pleasant; but I doubt it will not grow better, especially seeing soe many tryalls and warnyngs of a massacre or transplantation, and divided hands might doe that which conioyned cannot. I heare all our countrymen in Cornwall were committed longe since, the principall in Pendenys Castle. I feare they may know too much of that little which was. The talke here is of the successe of Penn in the Indies, and 613 speaks of the severall intelligences from France and England, and thence that Cr. told it to his Councell. However, I see not the probabylty of the last, and, for my owne opinion vpon the whole, I thinke it were better for vs the rebells were disappointed then prevaile, for the blow may be neere a ruyn to the Spaniard now in this condition, and, though he would, he will not be able to assist vs. But if they miscarry, he wilbe soe awakened by the alarme and the knowledge what impression it must make in Cr. not to sitt downe with losse and shame, that he will take new councells and he must not only stand on his watch,

^a Not deciphered, nor in the key (Eg. 2550), but used before for Cornelis van Aerssen, Heer van Sommelsdijk (see vol. ii. p. 84, note, and below, p. 62).

for that will not secure him, and those of the French party here
thinke the Sp. broken if these Ilands be taken and soe doth 613. 1655.

. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,
JOSEPH JANE.

CAPTAIN PETER MEWS.

HONOR^{ble} SIR,

. . . . In my passage to Rotterdam vpon y^t busyness I had y^e f. 326.
company of *Bunce*^a and another, who I suppose was Major *Wood*.
Some discourse wee had about y^e present affaires at *Court*, whither
hee told mee *Lc. Balcarri's* hee did belieue was come. I would not
seeme over curious in enquireing after things, for that might haue
bin thought designe, but voluntarily hee told mee y^t hee did beleue
there was somthing on foote would contribute highly to *the Kings*
aduantage, iff hee would hearken to it. I told him I did beleue
the King was a person of so greate a judgement that hee would not
refuse any thinge which hee was satisfyd in reason with, and for
his forwardness to *action* hee might bee sufficiently confident of
that. What it is they are vpon I know not, but hee says hee
would haue all disputes about *religion* layd by vntill they bee freely
debated in a National *Synod* and all interests joynd. Good words,
iff they proue true; but somthing hee talkd of assurance and
security, which I confess I did not well vnderstand. I haue bin
told y^t som of his party should say y^t they would haue *the King*
quit all *his Councell* except *Sec^{te} Nicholas*. *You are* very much
beholding to them for endeavouring to draw an odium vpon *you*;
though I beleue they would keepe in som others. But *S^r E. H.*
is, I am sure, none of them; hee was not named in playne terms,
but it was sayd y^t *the King* needed not a lawyer to dispute y^e right
or justice of his *title*, swords beeing more needfull then words.
Had not y^t fallne from him, there was nothing of passion in his

^a James Bunce, Alderman of London, a leading Presbyterian (vol. ii. pp. 23, 346).

1655. discourse, but all things tending to moderation. Perhaps hee vnderstood his company, though I haue bin told he is y^e best of y^e gang. At my returne to Delft I vnderstood that S^r William *Macdugel* and the D^r^a had bin there and were gon after the other, so y^t I conceiue that was y^e mess which eate together y^t day; for the other party told mee that 4 of them were to dine together at y^e English house. *Bunce* would not own y^t hee was comeing to *Collogne*, though I am told hee is. I cannot but pittie the poore *King*, who must bee so perplexed with y^e factious and vnreasonable humours of som people. God direct him in these greate difficultys, for his tryals are aboue y^e strength of a man. I am told by one lately come out of England y^t S^r H. Vane som 2 days before hee fell sick came into Westminster hall to a bookbinders and ask'd for the trial of my Lord Strafford. The bookebinder had it not there, but, beeing pressed by y^e others importunity, went to his house and fetchd it him; and it is sayd hee read it perpetually as long as hee was able to reade, and it is not vnlikely but that y^e apprehensions of y^t murder, of which without doubt hee was y^e malicious contriver, droue him into y^t fury in which hee tooke his leaue of this world.^b I doe not wish any mans damnation, though I cannot but desire y^e euidenceing and magnifying Gods justice. This day was appointed for nominateing an Embassadour from these States to y^e D. of Savoy, but whither it bee determined I cannot yet learne; perhaps an houre more may informe us, and then my next shall satisfy you

Yours in all fidelity,
P. M.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 23 Jul. 1655.

f. 333. While I was at Amsterdam, the busines of S^t Domingo was not beleaved, but their books now speak it. How you wilbe

^a Alexander Fraser, M.D., for whose character as a Presbyterian see vol. ii. p. 33.

^b See the story of his death in vol. ii. p. 354.

able to make vse of the Presbiterians I know not, but, if ever wee recede from our principles, wee shall loose more then gett, and, had not y^t party a strange impudence, they would never offer soe to impose vpon the King and to suppose him malleable against all the rules of piety and policy. I cannot coniecture further then the visible grounds, but remayne yet where I was, that, if the Sp[aniard] receive some notable blow in the Indies, it wilbe much to our disadvantage, and the people of England will have great expectacions vpon such an addition to trade and welth. And I finde by such English as come hither vpon trade that their spirits runn with their profit and their government is not part of their care. I am gladd the Knight^a was soe farr engaged and speake of it as I see cause, for its cast abroad much to the disadvantage of the Kinges affaires. The imprisonment of S^r R. Page is for his owne and such debts as his wife contracted, who, if shee continue with him, will most certainly render his condition miserable, were he discharged of this tomorrow, which is very sadd in a man of soe much vse. Whatever the Sp[aniards] beleeeve, its most probable the E[nglish] fleete is gone against them, for there is noe other place to goe unto, Brasill,^b they say, being soe long a journy and their former course soe much out of the way. Those of Amsterdam give out they are gone vpon pleasure. Its beleeeved they have some secret designe, but I could not learne any thinge towards it. I see noe cause why the Residents master should be soe much offended as the M^r of 114,^c whose affaires suffer in reputacion by such a Minister of State. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

^a "S^r M. L.," meaning Sir Marmaduke Langdale, is written by Nicholas in the margin.

^b Nicholas has here written in the margin "my coniecture if Sp. and Crom. joyn."

^c Not deciphered, but stands for "Lord Calpeper" in the key (Eg. 2550, p. 85). The allusion is to the story told above, pp. 14, 17.

1655.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 27 Jul. 1655.

f. 337.

. . . . Though I thinke noe trust att all to be given to those Presbiters, yet I finde there is a necessity of receiving their overtures, and not reiecting their propositions vpon y^e ground of their inclinations, which are still as corrupt as ever. And I suspect both nations y^t are of y^t leaven; for every man sees that Presbitery is destructive to Monarchy. Were all other interests layed aside, as former engagement, honour of gayneing the cause contended for, and the like, which I see few desert and would still have it layed on the Kinge to be the cause of the warr, and, if wee gett any thing by them, they wilbe mistaken, for they intend it not. I beleeve Cr[omwell]'s severity doth rather terrifie then exasperate, and men grow rather fearfull then vindictive by it; and by such as I have mett with I cannot conclude that heroick zeale is in any fashion, and a certen losse of life vpon an adventure for the redemption of Kinge and country rather madnes then virtue. And therefore truly I expect little y^t way, though, if ever, now were a tyme. When soe many men of interest and alliance are in danger and more still likely to continue, a good vnderstandinge with the people is of great vse, and I feare there is too little done in it; and I cannot vndertake to direct the way, having soe little knowledge of affaires on thother side. And in such a condition I know but two wayes, either by the industry of some persons present, that may infuse into men in all quarters the Kings intentions and their owne interest and what is to be done for their freedome and how much it depends on his restitution. This is laborious, and y^e other, which is by dispersinge treatises or observations vpon Cr's actions and the peoples sufferings, this may be of some vse. I doubt of any declaration of the Kings while matters are in this state, for it will endanger more and make the greater watchfullnes in the villaines.

The people heere cannot be perswaded that Cr. intends them 1655.
 evill and heare nothing of that side, but they thinke he will
 gett the trade as much as possible, and some say he hath gotten
 very much in that kinde already; and this attempt on the Indies
 hath gayned the marchants, and I finde by every dayes successe
 that nothing but necessity of their owne affaires will ever make
 any state enter into a warr with this monster nor the people at
 home to any attempt, and all putt it of to the last cast. There is
 noe doubt but the people here have a iealous eye on the Sound,
 but they will not hastily engage and perhaps not till it be too late.
 And though all see the consequence of Cr's power if he succede
 in the Indies, yet they thinke it more commendable to wayte the
 event then take any course to prevent it. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 30 Jul. 1655.

. . . . Wee have noe newes but what the prints bringe, only I f. 341.
 am told y^t its written Cr's officers yet agree not to his legislative
 power, and that he intends to increase the number of councillors.
 That cannot be much for his advantage; at least it cannot long
 continue and must be only to be ridd of some present pressure.
 There is noe further newes here of Penns taking St Domingo, soe
 as generally it is not received for certeyne. That which should
 signifie an agreement betwene Spain and Cr. I apprehend not,
 for there wilbe too much appearance of the cheate, and if there
 should be any partnership in that territory, it must be concluded
 the whole is lost, considering the greatnes of the one and weaknes
 of thother. Besides, Cr's revoking^a letters of Marque implyes
 that France and he are not at such distance as should induce a

^a By proclamation 12 July (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 240).

1655. peace with Spaine. I have heard nothing particularly of the French proceedings since the taking of Landrecy,^a only that the D. of Yorke is come there. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 3 Aug. 1655.

- f. 345. . . . I wish there were some way to make the governours here vnderstand Cr's designe, though I beleeeve they are not soe farr fond of him as not to see that selfe interest is all the bond of his frendshipp with them, and that he would rather have them his vassalls then allies. And they must reasonably beleeeve he endeavours to cutt them short in trade, which must consequently consume their navy and make them vnable to hurt him. But I conceive they thinke that the tyme is not come wherein they may oppose his proceedings, but beleeeve they cannot be soe surprized, but that by the help of other states they may escape at last. They are not att all for action, but ly on their guard. I beleeeve Cr. will make the most vse may be of the advantage in his hands and few shall escape him, and they y^t suffer may iustly say they have sate too quiett and, while they talke only of the Kinge, they consider not enough their owne interest and duty to God and their Country as well as the Kinge, and its likely that heavy burdens will make men more sensible and know they in vayne seeke their quietnes by submissions and forbearance to free themselves and the nation from the slavery and infamy now vpon it. And what ever others may be perswaded of, I cannot yet beleeeve that, if Cr. should have good successe in the Indies, there will any good come to vs by it; for it will certainly gayne the affections of the people much to him and he

^a Taken by Turenne from the Spanish on 14 July.

that then would helpe wilbe vnable, and therefore I wish he may miscarry and then it may fall out that dishonour and want may cause mutynies. The legislative power is already sufficiently practised, though not declared, and as long as it cann passe soe there is little vse of a publique proclamacion, and wee finde by Penruddocks tryall^a that Judges and iuries take his instrument of government for an act of parliament. But the people there dislike and suffer, and I feare there are few that would set their hand to helpe forward any thing to the end you write. There is here Penruddocks tryall, but I have not seene it, only heard of it, and some passages very well sayed. If it were in French, it would sell very well, and it were good that some such thing should appeare for vs abroad, that they may see there are some spirits left in England for the King, which they scarce beleewe. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

PERCY CHURCH.^b

RIGHT HON^{ble},

Paris, this 6 of Aug^t, 1655.

. . . . London is abandoned allmost by all the gentry in obedience to Cromwells proclamation,^c the effect whereof as imagined will eare many dayes bee discovered, and then I may possibly giue your honour the perticulars at lardge. Cromwell hath called in all letters of mark against the French, and y^t in order to his proclamation it bee put in execution by the 10th current upon paine of death. f. 349.

It is written mee from St Malo that a shipp newly arriued at Rotchell from y^e Barbadoes brought newes that Ad^l Pen was dead,

^a Col. John Penruddock, beheaded at Exeter 16 May for his share in the abortive rising in March, 1655 (vol. ii. p. 242), after vainly pleading that his offence was not legally high treason.

^b See vol. ii. p. 240.

^c Of 6 July, commanding all "who have been of the late kings party or his sons" to quit London and Westminster on or before 12 July (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 232).

1655. but whether by sword or pestilence they mention not, or of the taking of S^t Domingo, which if granted is, as I conceive, not sufficient to make the King of Spaine share his Indies with any Prince whatsoever, and much less with a 'Traitor, whose successes depend but upon y^e point of fortune and his life. Wherefore I hope y^e coniunction, if any, can only retard and not hinder his Ma^{tes} iust right.

That P. Ruperts^a leavies for Italy occasioned his so sudden returne is more probable then his goeing theither in person, for, the Comte de Brolio commanding the French troopes, his High^s will be much eclipsed both in his capitulation and honour, the latter of which his High^s certainly values aboue any satisfaction the Duke of Modena can make him.

The Earle of Norwich his now beeing at Court is, as tis thought, to haue bine not vnseasonable, and, if so, his Lo^{ps} freinds may doe well to endeour his continuance. The Princess Royalls arriual will, I presume, bee noe less pleasing to y^e Court then strainingly thought on by some in regard of her High^{ss} present condition in Holland, which, as I generally heare, answers not to the wourth and virtue of so deserving a Princess. . . .

Your Honours most truly obliged servant,

[PERCY CHURCH.]

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. P. Ch.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 6 Aug. 1655.

f. 350. . . . Our books now bringe very little and I heare not that letters add any thing to it. I beleeeve Cr. is in great consultacions

^a "Prince Rupert has sent to Italy the troops he had raised for the Duke of Modena; he himself is going to serve the King of Sweden. It is said he intended to be Lieut.-General of Duke of Modena, but France desired it might be Count Broglio" (Intelligence, $\frac{4}{24}$ July, *Thurloe St. Pap.* iii. p. 683).

at present and must have troublesome thoughts of his succeſſe abroad, whereon depends his ſubſiſtence, for, if there happen a diſaſter to him, he will certainly be much putt to it. There came on (*ſc.* one) out of London Sunday laſt with reports that the bodyes of divers commanders were brought to London from the fleete, but I think it is of little credit, there having bene ſoe many miſrelacions in that kinde and noe letter now, though it have beene talkt of heretofore. Though thoſe ſhipps ſet forth at the publique charge may act what thothers by the revokt letters of marque would have done, yet doubtleſſe Cr. had ſome end in doinge it, and it was done to gett credence with ſome from whome he expects aſſiſtance or forbearance, vuleſſe the Engliſh marchants thinke it a ſecurity to them. Wee heare nothing more of St. Domingo. If the Spaniard be diſtreſſed in Italie, I ſhall thinke the pope and princes there have found out ſome new intereſt and are not governed by example; for, if they bring in the French when the Spaniard is ſoe lowe, they may finde as great a change of eſtates there as when C. 8 (Charles VIII.) came into Italie, and I am yet of opinion that they would not contribute to the greatnes of France nor weaknes of Spain at this tyme, but perſonall intereſts and animoſities governe ſtates as well as ſingle men. But howe cann the pope be a reconciler when thoſe great changes begunn with him and diſpoſſeſſion of princes? I lately ſawe certen letters printed in Engliſh written in Q. El. tyme betwene the ſeparatiſts y^t came into their parts and Fr. Junius the profeſſor,^a and ſince I have ſeene the latyne originalls. They are well written of his part and conteyne a reiection of their many applications to him, and I wiſh they were printed now, for I beleewe they would be more obſerved at this tyme and might have good uſe, the Engliſh beinge knowen to very fewe. If it be thought worthy, I ſhall endeavour to gett them printed, and hope to

^a *Certaine letters translated into English . . . two by F. Junius . . . the other by the exiled English Church abiding for the preſent at Amſterdam, [Amſterdam?], 1602.*

1655. prevayle. It concerns the Church and consequently the State. Hereof if you write, I shall prosecute it with speede. I heare the Q. of Swede goes shortly for Italie and the palace of Farnese is providing for her. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 9 Aug. 1655.

f. 355. . . . I sawe a letter this day which sayes that there is a shipp come into Amsterdam from the Indies that sayes the English landed in Hispaniola and were repulsed with losse and thereon went to attempt another Iland, whose name I cannot give you in letters. This is vndertaken to be a truth, and that Cr. hath had it at least fourteene dayes and y^t from hence proceeded the revocation of the letters of marke^a and applicacion to the French, with whome its said the peace is agreed. How farr this is certen I cannot determyne, but its written with more then ordinary confidence. I beleeve you will heare it from others. I continue still to like it better then a great blow given the Spaniard, and I wish his plate fleete may escape Blake. . . . This Monday mornynge Capt. John Moore came hither and kissed the Q's hands. He reports y^t Mr. Denham^b is not taken vpp, which was confidently reported and beleevd here. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

^a The proclamation revoking letters of marque was dated as early as 12 July (B. M. 669, f. 27^o).

^b John Denham, the poet (vol. i. p. 129). He was ordered, 9 June, to "be confined to a place chosen by himself, not within 20 miles of London" (*Cal. St. Papers*, p. 204).

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

1655.

RIGHT HONOR^{ble},

Br[ussels], the 12 Aug. 1655.

I cannot express in a better manner then in which D. Al. de Cardenas hath deliuerd it in his letters of the 6 of this moneth what passed betweene the Spaniards and Cromwells troopes in the late enterprize upon S. Domingo. The beginning of his letter is, that att the length *ha reuentado*, or burst out, the mystery of the greate designe, and so goes on in relating how upon the 3 of this moneth arriud in England from the Barbadoes a shipp calld the Beares Foote with newes that Penn, being come with his fleete to a place of Hispaniola within tenn or twelue miles of the Citty of S. Domingo, landed there 9 or 10^m men vnder the command of Haynes^a their Generall, but before they were farr aduaned a body of negros and men of the country, without making a shett only fell upon them with their jaelins, bowes and swordes and without any greate dispute did entirely rowte them. The number of the slaine hee doth not sett downe, but saith they were uery many, and amongst the rest their General; the rest partly disperst themselves in the country, of which 3 are now come to Amsterdam, and parte recouerd their fleete in the same boates that had landed them, hauing first fird 7 of their owne shipp, which lay then on ground. Wherupon Penn with the remainder of his men and shipp weighed anchor and came to Jamayca to refresh himself; and it was not without greate neede, it being uery certaine that Haynes men were so very thirsty after they were landed as, had they had no other ennimy then want of drinke, they must haue perished without fighting. These newes were conceald for 8 or 9 dayes after the arriual of the shipp aforesaide, and might very well bee so, the Gouuernor of the Barbadoes, from whence it came, in the space of 6 weekes hauing not sufferd any letters of it to bee written besides

^a Maj.-Gen. James Heane or Haynes. For an account of Penn's repulse from Hispaniola and taking of Jamaica see *Thurloe St. Pap.* iii. p. 504, etc.

1655. his owne, and the mariniers not permitted to come on shoare ; but they were legible enough in the deieted countenances of some of Cromwells prime Counselors, and so might haue beene perhaps in his owne, if hee had not withdrawne upon it. Besides, two more shippes which came into England and another into Holland with the same newes enforced an acknowledgment of them, with permission to publish them, as you finde them in the printed pamphlets.

This is in effect the relation of Don Alonso. If you will haue that of this Queene of Sueden, it is ury shorte but smarte, as her custome is, against our nation, namely that one hundred Spaniards had beaten 4^m English. Whither they haue had these newes already in Spayne, I know not ; but it is writen from thence in letters from seuerall partes of the 1 of July, that that Kinge was so allarumd att Blakes lying on that coast, and that hee is there to no other ende then to intercept the plate fleete,^a which they doe expect for all this moneth or the beginning of the next, as there were att Cadiz two galions, each of 60 guns, and there and in other ports 7 Hollanders 5 Hamburgers and other shippes hird to the number of aboue 30, almost in a readines to goe meete the fleete, besides some barkes of aduice already gonne to make it steere another then the vsuall course, which if it should hold or neare it, some parte of Blakes shippes must probably light upon it, for hee hath diuided his fleete of 28 shippes in 3 partes, one of which lies about Cap S^t Vincent, another att the mouth of the Streights, and the rest plie up and downe

Unsigned ; endorsed, Sir H. de Vic.

^a The Plate fleet escaped Blake this year, but was captured by his lieutenant Stayner on 8 Sept. 1656.

PERCY CHURCH.

1655.

RIGHT HON^{ble},Paris, this 13 of Aug^t 1655.

. . . . As S^r Jos. Wagstaffe^a has escaped, so within these few dayes seuerall haue dune to Diepe, who finding there the opportunitie of a Holland shipp bound for Flushing tooke that passage with intention for Cologne. This M^r Tho. Benifield and one M^r Ross, an actiue Scotch man, arriuing upon Wedsonday night last, as I heare, relates, and y^t M^r Jo. Weston, sonn to S^r Ric. Weston, and one M^r Gardener of Surrey are thought must bee the first y^t shall bee tryed for their liues by the high Court of Justice, which is to bee compounded only of Officers of the Army. The L^d Stanhope,^b late sonn in law to the Earle of Northumberland, is come to Towne; his business, as I heare, is only to take the waters of Torges or ells to trauell. M^r Moubray,^c a Scotch gentleman and a *great pretender to busines*, parted hence upon Munday morning last for Cologne. Here beeing a new Am^{dor} arriued from Venice, the old goes shortly for England and prepares accordingly. The three K^{ts} I formerly mentioned to haue bine sent to y^e Indies are now found to bee close prisoners in y^e Tower.

That D^r Bayly and Mettam (grandchild to S^r Tho. Mettam his younge^r brother), Cromwells Enuoyes, are now at Rome is most knowne; but their propositions not. What Bayly hath bine and is, I presume, needes not so much my mentioning as that Mettam, who, though here to fore a scholler of the Jesuitts and so taken into the habitt, was neuer the less about 5 yeares since, hauing taken no orders, turned out of the Congregation for his irregular life, and consequently hee may bee no unfitting man ether for Cromwells imployment or Baylyes fellowship, without preiudice, as I hope, to the Catholique body of England, or at least to the good

^a The leader of the exploit at Salisbury, more fortunate than his comrade Penruddock in escaping (vol. ii. pp. 240, 242).

^b Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield 1656. His first wife, Lady Anne Percy, died in 1654 (vol. ii. p. 150).

^c See vol. ii. p. 208; and for "D^r Bayly and Mettam" named lower down, pp. 272, 292, and below, p. 52.

1655. opinion his Ma^{tie} and Councell has of them, and then what any others coniecture imports not. When I heare of *the Queene sending to the Pope*, I shall acquaint your honour by y^e first, but I beleeeue it will not bee in hast, because *she hath heard that one was last winter privatly imployed by his Ma^{tie}*. If only Cromwell pretends to all thats taken by sea from y^e French, it will amount high, there hauing bine 5 or 6 shippes lately taken upon y^e coast of Britanie, the one layden with mastes and all other prouisions for y^e shippes they are now building in seuerall ports, and another with linnen cloath belonging to S^t Malo, valued by y^e ho^{rs} [? owners] at aboue 50,000 pistolls; but this is not without some requitall, for the French hath taken in the Straights a rich shipp bound from Smirna to London, and, as tis write from Marcellius, Ad^{ll} Blake 10 dayes past was not returned into the Straights.

Twesday last brought mee from London y^t the newes of Thursday before upon the Exchainge was that Ad^{ll} Penn, landing his men in Hispaniola, lost aboue 3,000 and namely Collonel Haynes with his regiment intirely. All y^t I can assuer you at present is y^t, when y^e letters [were] brought from y^e Indies in a frygatt called y^e Beares Foote, there was no triumph made, but all seemed dull and discontented. This I know from one who was then present at Whitehall, so that you may beleeeue as I, and against the next I shall endeour to know particulars. The Protector is putting forth a declaration to erect a Court of Justice, which shall consist of 60 (som say 80) men, but they are to bee soldiers, by which its thought y^t they will call to account some officers, as Ouerton, Wyldman, &c.

Your honours most reall servant,

[PERCY CHURCH.]

Postscript : M^r Bond, once S^r He. Woods servant, is now made Clerk Controller of her Ma^{tes} howsehold, and for which, as I was secretly told, the *Lo. Jermyn* hath or is to haue a thousand pistols; but this and what els in cipher only to the Cha. and yourselfe.

Unsigned; endorsed, M^r P. Ch.

JOSEPH JANE.

1655.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 13 Aug. 1655.

I have your 10 inst.^a and your Lady is now at the Hage. . . . f. 364.
 The kindnes you mencion with 256^b was long since begun.
 I beleeeve its but courtshipp without confidence, for certenly he
 cannott expect that it will hould towards him longer then the
 power whereby they may be served, parts and vertues having but
 a small weight where that fayles; and I am most assured that
 these persons reteyne noe respects longer then they may be served,
 and there is noe greater evidence then the publique departments
 complying with the rebell power for their advantages, and it must
 necessarily be matter of detraction to 256 by such as affect him
 not, who are not a few and these of severall conditions.

I wrote you in my last what was written of Pens attempt vpon
 Hispaniola, and it seemes you had the report at the same tyme
 from others. Now you have some concurrence in the prints, who are
 different. Some say the Spanish Ambuscado fled vpon commyng vpp
 of their whole force. Another sayes that, after Heane was killed,
 he will not take on him to tell what was done, either staying or
 leaving the Iland or any action performed, soe as its likely that
 they have had a blow. I perceive Cr. and his Conncell kept a day
 of hipercriticall humiliation. Its reported by some that the shipp
 at Amsterdam y^t came from the Indies reports they dy very fast in
 Penns fleete, and that they were aboard some of them. I confesse
 my detestacion of those vipers is such as I reioyce when they are
 beaten and disappointed, and it may be thereby I overloke the
 politique consequences of their gaine or losse; but as a great losse
 must certenly have byn ruynous to the Spaniard, soe this losse to
 Cr. must needs make him angry and [make] the Spaniard by his

^a A letter from Nicholas to Jane of $\frac{1}{2}$ Aug. is in *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 281, but it is apparently in answer to this of Jane's, and is answered by Jane's of 24 Aug. (p. 34).

^b Not deciphered; Sir E. Hyde, according to the key (Eg. 2550, p. 85).

1655. attempt to provide from [*sic*, ?for] himselfe. And Cr. if he make peace with both Sp. and Fr., the Sp. is vnsecure; if with Fr. only, its likely it will come to a breach with Sp., and the terrour they have by Blake may make them alter their Spanish pace. But herein the spirits and present condition of Spaine are chiefly considerable, for nothing but extreame necessity and deiection cann keepe them from a returne to this rascall, but I doubt their weaknes, though I beleeeve the taking of one of the Ilands would have beene equall to the plate fleete. I heare the Amb. in Eng. hath written the States of this defeate and Barriere,^a the agent for the pr. of Condé in Eng., hath written it to his frinds here. Whatever this busines prove to Spaine, it may worke much in England, where their hopes are soe much disappointed. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

The States of Holland have agreed to give the Q[ueen of Bohemia] twelve hundred pounds by 100 a month. Its hoped it may turne to an annuall pension.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 24 Au: 1655.

f. 371. Your 10th instant rejoyced all your friends here,^b and it had the happines to be vnwelcome to none. . . . I beleeeve the Spaniard and Cr. have but temporized all this tyme and there hath not beene any agreement, but vpon the old leauge with the Kinge and Cr's word of keeping it; for I never sawe yet any thinge published of accord either with the parl. or Cr., which would have beene, had there beene any new alliance. Though the Sp. be much necessitated and cannot easily be drawn into a warr with Cromwell, yet he sees that his Indies are Cr's eysore and that he must pay

^a Henri de Taillefer, Sieur de Barrière, Condé's Agent in England from Mar. 1652 to Aug. 1656 (Duc d'Aumale, *Hist. des Princes de Condé*, vi. pp. 354, 697).

^b Nicholas had been ill and had announced his recovery.

the scott, if thother gett oportunity. If Cr. give hopes to the Sp., 1655.
 he must give him some assurance for the Indies, or els he is still
 as he was and must continue vpon a chargeable preparacion for his
 defence in those parts and for the guard of his fleet, which he finds
 will not be secure, and Cr. will not grant him what was in the
 former articles, that the English were bound to make restitution
 of what ships they tooke from the Sp. within the Tropike, but the
 Sp. not of what they tooke from the English. This I heard spoken
 by Pym in parl., but the article I read not. I lately sawe a letter
 written from the Swedes camp, which sayes that one part of Poland
 had absolutely submitted to the Swede and the Kinge fled the
 Kingdom, and twas presumed thother part would followe thex-
 ample of the first, and, if soe, the Swede will soone be master of
 the Baltique. But though Cr. may be apt enough to angle in the
 waters of these states, yet I thinke he apprehended not their aspect
 towards his horizon, and therefore thought not on a diversion; but
 its likely he would have the Sound rather out of the Dutch hands
 then in it, and the Swede, as I think, was inclined to this warr as
 a stepp upon Germany, who may iustly looke about them. All
 that come from England now say that there must be forreyne force
 or noe expectacion of strength in England. . . . Here is not yet
 any expectacion of a minister from England, but the Commis-
 sioners for the Marchants^a expect an enlargement of their commis-
 sion in number of persons to come over. They doe very little but
 keepe a table and administer the companyes money. . . .

There was lately in one quarter of the Hage a meetinge of the
 neighbors accordinge to their custome where they feast for some
 dayes, and the Sp. Amb. having his house within the precinete
 was for forme invited, but his presence not expected; however, he
 came and was very frolicke amonge them and, when they were
 mery, askt whether they were for the King or parl. or Cr. and in

^a See Cromwell's Proclamation, 12 July, 1655 (B. M. 669, f. 3^o), for a commission at Amsterdam to settle "the remaining differences betwixt the English and Dutch merchants."

1655. particular propounded to Sr Ro. Stone^a then present, who askt the Amb. for whome he was, for his master was the first y^t acknowledged Cr., to whome the Amb. replied, "Wee have payed for it," and soe dranke to Sir Ro. an health to the King of England, which with great readynes went about the table. This story, whatever it imports, is a truth. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 3 Sept. 1655.

- f. 379. . . . I vnderstand by some that have experience that Jamaca, which the rebells have taken, is farr out of the way of the plate fleete and by its situation not likely to be of any advantage that way, but sure the Spaniard cannot be secure vpon this attempt . . . I was told by one of Amsterdam that the mony payed touching the East Indies is likely to be kept by Cromwell for his owne account; for he tells the marchants they shall have interest. I heard that first he offered them halfe and interest for the rest, and since they say he tells them they cannot have it. I cannot vnder-take for the truth of this . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 7 7bre, 1655.

- f. 380. . . . Wee heare nothinge more of the Spanish temper vpon the proceedinges in the Indies, and wee may be sure they have feare and anger, and the want that wee may wish supplied is courage and power. The French putt them soe hard y^t they have not leasure to breath, but their warr must be more vigorous if they

^a He seems to have acted as a spy for Thurloe (see vol. ii. p. 2, and *Thurloe St. Pap.* iii. pp. 137, 162).

meane to redeeme themselves. I wrote in my last what I vnderstood of Jamiaca, the takinge whereof I beleeeve serves more for reputacion then vse. Some say heere that Cardenas fears to goe for Spaine, having assured y^t state of Cromwells right intentions towards it. But whatever y^t prove, all the measure I cann take of the inclinations of the people of England by such as are best able to iudge is a welwishinge to the Kinges interest or an hatred to the present power, which they want resolution or power to putt into act without some force from abroad to secure the risinge or a place of strength which must be suddenly provided of necessaryes. How in the former busines this was considered and the rising resolved without it, I cannot determyne. Cromwell goes on upon this ill successe to lay the ground of his power, and doubtlesse hath by it very great advantages, both in suppressing the Royall party and assuring the remaynder with his army, which now is his only feare, for he thinks not on the peevishnes of the Presbiterian or Independent, which he sees sign^{ifies} nothing and change with the moone. All he seeks is that the army may like that government for the kingdom which they live under themselves, a king in state as a generall over them, and for what I cann collect they rather stumble at the name then the substance, vnlesse some of the chieffes like not an inheritance in title and power, which may be exclusive to their hopes. I sawe not the peticion touching the taking of his title, but I heare it was sent you by the last post. I finde in the prints it was prohibited, but that may be as former attempts of like nature in parliament, when petitions were sent into the country to be signed, and Cromwell may desire to be petitioned and yet seeme to give a stopp to it, as a thing he dislikes, and I am somewhat of opinion that the retorne of his fleetes without some notable successe will not make any assumption of a new title very plausible. I know not whether I wrote you y^t J. Trelawny^a was escaped. I am

^a Sent into England with Lord Rochester on a mission into the west early in the year (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 19). He was again in England in Dec. 1656 (*Id.* p. 222).

1655. told he walks openly on the Exchange. Bredrode is lately dead, soe as a great government is fallen. Sr Geo. Hamilton is here at the Hage. I send you this letter of the K. of Swede, presuming the print might be quicker here then elsewhere. I casually sawe it on the stall and was told it came wet from the presse

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

EARL OF NORWICH.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Rauestein by y^e Graue, Sept. 9, 1655.

f. 386.

I haue forborne writing to you all this time, hauing bin vpon my wing at Disuldorp, Wesel, Rees, Cleue, where I was entertained by a prince and lodged like a prince, the Busse and Graue by Count Horne; but now, God willing, hauing conserted my busines heere with my honest ould servant L^t Bury for his going into England, from whence I haue not had any answer, much lesse monny, neuer since poore L^t Reads captiuity, I intend to-morrow to set foorth from the Graue towards Collogne, only staying for Jerome alias Jeroboham, as the maydes call him, with two new rich sute, soe as by Monday or Tusday next, if M^r Coventry detain me not a day or two longer at Wesel, I hope to haue y^e blessing of laying myselfe at his sacred Ma^{ties} and my adored Baronesses feete, and attendance on my sweete Duke with fierce Britton. You are, my deare Secretary, humbly prayd to put this inclosed into y^e fayre hands of my sole Baronesse (for I will promise you neuer to make or take Countesse more), without saying or doing more then beseeche her Highnes in my name to reade it. The place would serue my fancy exceedingly and otherways not considerable for any benifit at all. The other inclosed from Breda is all I haue heard since I saw you, which giues me to vnderstand y^t you will see odd work ere long, and y^t makes me hasten to you. My humble seruice

to my most noble Lord Lieutenant, Lord Rochester, sonne Taffe, 1655.
Newburgh and the Chancellor, with my family there, where I hope
to be grinding in that mill as I left them last. I coniure my
beloued support to enquire for such letters as are at y^e post house
or elsewhere and keepe them for me till I comine, whoe am all yours
to y^e death,

S. S.

S.

My loue to Rob. Philips,^a his dame and Jack Heath^b and
Sr Gib.^c

Endorsed, "En. Norwich."

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

HON^{ble} Sr,

Bruxells, 9th Sept. 1655.

His Ma^{ty} letter, methinkes, is so gracious noble and honest as it f. 388.
may satisfy any persons that haue any sparkes of duty, loyalty
or affection to the settlement of there Country in peace and fredome.
The greatest danger I feare is that the Leuellers have not so con-
siderable a power in England as they pretende and that Cromwell
purgeth euery day that party fourth of his army, and farther,
beinge a people extreemely opiniastre, aboundinge in there owne
sence and guilty in there owne consciences of the wickednesse they
haue donne, that they will rather submit to the present tyrannicall

^a Col. Rob. Phelipps (vol. ii. p. 296).

^b Second son of Ch. Justice Sir Robert Heath; at the Restoration made Attorney-General for the Duchy of Lancaster, and knighted 27 May, 1664.

^c "Sir Gib." is probably Sir Gilbert Talbot (vol. i. p. 155).

1655. government, though it be against there principles, rather then joine with His Ma^{ty}, whom they haue so much persecuted. But, yf any litle aduantage can be gotten to His Ma^{ty}, it is wourth his letter; and I verily beleieue, yf God blesse his Ma^{ty} wth any considerable forces in England and this Mr Ouerton^a goe on with lettinge his party se the contents of his Ma^{ty} letter, it will either induce them to joine with the Kinge, or at least kepe them neutrall, or at the worst kepe them from joininge with Cromwell, when they shall be satisfied that all they can desire or expecte will be granted unto them by there owne lawfull Soueraigne.

The Spanish ambassadour writes from England that Pen is cominge from the West Indies. I confesse I cannot but wonder why he made that attempt upon the Spaniard, his greate and intimate freind. It was certainly his auaritious humour to get the Spanish plate flete, which if he had gotten, he would have giuen the Kinge his share and now missinge will do as he did with the Hollanders. When he saw he could not force them to a league offensiue and defensiue, he made peace with them on more moderate tearmes for feare they should haue imbraced our Kinges quarrell. This I feare will be the issue of Cromwells West India uoiage. The condicion of the Spaniarde is so miserable that he must resent noe iniuries; some conlude the Spaniarde to be so low and the people of this country, Millan, and Naples so desperate as, yf the Spaniarde make not a peace, the people will reuolt. I have only sent the copy of his Ma^{ty} letter to Mr Ouerton untill I shall be satisfied from him that my letters come safe to him. I haue sent thre since I receaued one from him, therefore feare some miscariage. I receaued not yours untill Tuesday last, which was the day after the post; therefore, if you please to directe your next to me by my owne name,

^a Richard Overton, the pamphleteer, described by Langdale in a letter to the king of 26 Aug. as "a Leveller, Overton, who goes by the name of Mr. Willoughby, companion of Saxbie. He is one who framed most of the Levellers' declarations, and fled out of England with Saxbie" (*Cal. Cl. St. Pap.* iii. p. 55).

or Francis Constable, a la maison de George Markes, anglois, 1655.
aupres les degres de la grande eglise de St Tregoules a Bruxelles.

.....

Your most humble and most faithfull seruant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

This inclosed I beseche you with my most humble duty present
to His Ma^{ty}.^a

CAPTAIN PETER MEWS.

HON^{ble} SIR,

Rotterdam, Sept. 9, 1655.

..... All things heere run in y^e same dull channell they did ; f. 390.
and from England wee receiue nothing but complaynts of y^e
mis-management of affayres. Had they succeeded, euery one
would haue claymed his share in them; but now euery one disowns
the ill fortune, which is no more then y^e common fate of all
things of that nature. For my owne part, though my feares are
greate, my hopes are aboue them, and though the streame of my
particular misfortunes run so strong y^t I see little probability to
bee able to stem it, yet I shall not distrust Providence, and, what-
ever y^e issue proue, I submit to Heaven. I haue not bin so happy
as to meete with y^e Lt.-Gen.,^b though nothing was wanting in my
endeauours, neither could I haue missed of him, had hee not, out
of a desyre to bee as private as possible, concealed y^e ways of
his remoues; for I cannot beleiue hee was vnwilling to haue seene
mee in particular, notwithstanding I rec[eive]d no answere to any
letter y^t I addressed to him while hee was in these provinces. I

^a No doubt his letter to the king of the same date and on the same subject printed
in the *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 277.

^b Lieut.-Gen. John Middleton. "Middleton is going to consult with his gang in
Holland" (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 55, in a spy's letter of 24 Aug.).

1655. am labouring what I can to renew a correspondence in England, but I finde all persons extreamely shy and vnwilling to run the hazard of letters, which is a danger rather fancyd then reall, for were I there I should not make a scruple of it. . . .

Your humble servant,
P. M.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HON^{ble},Hage, 10 7^{bre}, 1655.

- f. 391. . . . I was told by Mr. Edgman some yeres since, that one had vnderaken to translate my booke^a into French and y^t it was ready for y^e presse; what the hinderance is I never vnderstood. Mr. Crowther wrote somewhat of the translation of Miltons booke into French which he whisht Mr. Barrow to signifie to me, but I knew noe further of it, and I wish it were done, since, as they say, there is much industry used in venting the translation of Milton. I know not the summe payed by the Dutch for the merchants, but conceived it not soe inconsiderable; but, if it be stopt, it will rayse some grudging, though the cause be not great. I did account it strange y^t, after I had plainly expressed I could not execute any commissions of the rebels, I should be againe named, but I give you my coniecture. I see many scruple not to acknowledge the rebell power by act, though they professe the contrary in word, and, if the one be vnlawfull, thother is not innocent. Mr. Oudart, I heare, comes to Colen and soe doth Silvius and, I heare, Mr. Howard likewise.

Touching the designe of a parliament by the Trienniall act, it may be talkt of, but never propounded, vnlesse it be with words in hand; for, if Cr. committ the lawyers for vrging

^a *Eikon Aklastos*, 1651, an answer to Milton's *Eikonoklastes*. Hyde seems to have thought the book not "sharp enough and weighty enough" to be worth translated. *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 135).

Magna Carta, he will not stick at the like to such as require the execution of that Act. And I beleeeve the discontinuance of that Act soe long hath rendered it vnpracticable; besides that referrs to the old right of elections, which they now will not admitt. But, if it be a truth that the army have an hand in it, Cr. may tumble that way, for a parliament that way obtruded upon him wilbe more surley then those that have come vpon his letters. Besides, he may say that three yeres are not yet expired since they had a parliament which sate longer then the tyme allowed by the Trienniall bill. Any thing of change must have some influence of consumption upon this crazed body. The books of this week bring very litle; what your letters are I cannot coniecture, but wish y^t there were some that gave but the publike things that passe in courts at Westminster and circuits, for there is somewhat to be learned by them. I was tould yesterday that *the Coll. Crum.*^a sayed to some that the *States* had reason to respect him, for, if he had not beene, there had beene *noe peace*. Thus, notwithstanding all the protestations wee have heard of good affections, they are not soe devoute y^t the *interest of the King* is at all sett by. But the kindnes to them continues still, and I heare it was not spoken as a daynty, but like to be spoken to others as well as to him that told me. My wife gives you her best respects and soe doth

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

RICHARD OVERTON TO SIR MARM. LANGDALE.^b

SIR,

This day I rec^d yours with a copy of a letter from his Majesty, wherein I find soe just and rationall a satisfaction as can be exprest or expected. I am sorry I have been soe long in ignorance

f. 396.

^a Probably Col. John Cromwell, commanding the garrison at Utrecht (*Cal. St. Pap.*, p. 598). He was a son of Sir Oliver, and cousin of the Protector.

^b Enclosed in Sir M. Langdale's of 20 Sept. (below, p. 50).

1655. of his Majesties affections to the publicke, but I shall for the future improve my vtmost to redeem this lost time that cannot be recald. I desire you would be pleased to send me the letter vnder his Majesties hand, for the better satisfaction of those to whom I may have occasion to shew it, as I find my opportunity. I am very glad it touch'd my particular noe more but vpon a generall score with others. As for y^e matter of money, you must needs thinke I cannot be ignorant of his Majesties condition, and the want of that shall not impede my endeavours (soe far as I can possibly in his service). Assure yourselfe I will not faile you in the least; whatever lyes in my way, it shall be my worke to convert it to this publicke end.

I have heard twice from Mr. Brooks [*i. e.* Sexby]; he is well, and hath been these six weeks at his journeys end, and I have strong hopes given me that you may mistake in your judgment concerning his joyrney. If he prosper, He give you the whole state of the busines; at present it is not stated vpon the Kings accompt. I have the papers of proceedings by me, but the matter of difference in the busines of a Republicke may easily be reconcild. I made inquiry into the condition of the Jewes, soe farr as was necessary. I find they are in conjunction with Cromwell; some of their Rabbies are learning English on purpose to live in England and must go speedily over.^a They have their meetings at London, and those Rabbies are to be sent thither for y^t purpose, soe y^t I am very glad I dealt with them by proxe; not one of them knowes any thing of me or what my intentions were. Had they, Cromwell should have known it. I rec^d all your letters you sent to me. Sometimes I am at the Hague, sometimes at Amsterdam, and must now stay a while at Rotterdam in expectation of my wifes coming; but send your letters to me as your direction is. This day I rec^d also a letter from Major Gen. Massey from Hamburg; he is in very good health. I pray send this

^a For the history of Cromwell's reversal in 1656 of the outlawry of the Jews see Lucien Wolf, *The Resettlement of the Jews in England*, 1888.

endorsed to Mr. Garrett; and I beg your excuse for my neglect of writing to you, and returne you humble thanks for all your favors and respects to 1655.

Your most faithfull and affectionate servant to command,

RICHARD OVERTON.

Delf, 13 Sept. 55.

COL. HERBERT PRICE.

SIR,

Dort, 13 7^{bris}.

. . . . It is not to be doubted but that Cromwell principally apprehends some of the army; and therefore it is that att this time (as I am informed) he makes the world beleue that he intends not to take any other tittle then what he had allready, [and that only for his life],^a which is to secure himselfe from question for things necessarily donne by his power, which he should be lyable to, if he rendered himselfe a priuate person. I heare nothings further of Blaks losse; of Penn, for all the fayre countenance they would putt vpon his businesse, it is whispered that he is in a very bad condition. I doe not heare here that Dantzick is in the dainger you write, but otherwise that the King of Sweede is like to haue an ill bargayne of that warr. Of the French I haue heard noething this weeke. I hope you mentioned noething of my 500^l to any but the King. I know who rules the rost, and I am to expect noething from him; but my L^d of Rochester hath vnder-takeinge for me, and there is my hope. It is true that it is reasonable the Kings seruants ought to be satisfyed with the first, but this is an old grant, and I know not why I am not one of those seruants. I beleue there are many of them as vnsignificant as myselfe and yet haue not those pretensions. Pardon this digression; I cannot hold sometimes to a good frend f. 398.

Your most humble and affectionat servant,

HER. PRICE.

^a The words in brackets are scored through.

1655.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},Hage, 14 7^{bre} 1655.

f. 400.

. . . . The report of Blakes shipwrack is reported here very much, but its not easily beleaved by reason of the few stormes on that coast in this season. I beleave Cr. is not easy, because he is so silent now when the expectacion is soe great of his activity, and its very likely he would now cast some great plott for his assurance, if there were not some great hinderance to his designs. Some write from Colen that prisoners are to be tryed in 10^{ber} and a list of them now with you; others, that many expect suddenly to be freed. I was told that Penn intends to send away his great ships, and that they are on theire returne. It is not beleaved here that Dantzicke is att all blockt vpp; and surely, if it were, these States would be very sensible of their interest in it. And men beginn to beleave that the carreire of the Swedes may be stopped, but they doubt here there is some dealing betwene Cr. and the Swedes. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Br[ussels], 16 Sept. 1655.

f. 401.

. . . . The day for this Queene of Suedens departure continues yet to bee on Munday, but 'tis not impossible it may yet bee putt of. Shee purposes to bee here againe in May next, and I beleave it the rather because of D. Antonio de la Cuevas lady waiting upon her. Of what religion soeuer shee goe away hence, it is now held for certaine that shee will returne a Romane Catholick. Shee intends to pass by Cullen and approoues of an enteruiew with the King, as you will heare from Sr William Bellenden. Mee thinks these Ministers doe beginn to looke better upon us, and that it is not impossible but the tide may turne ere it bee longe, but the

change must come first from Spayne. You heare how Crom. is 1655.
not well, and I heare from a good hande that hee is as ill or worse
in minde as in body. The Spanish flecte consisting of 36 shippes,
therin comprised 8 fire shippes, is out and about the Cape of St
Vincent. It hath a greate number of land men aboard it, but
they haue order only to waite upon Blake, but not to bee the
aggressors. And so I kiss your handes and remaine

Your Honours most humble servant,

[H. DE VIC.]

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Sir Hen. de Vic.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 17 7^{br}, 1655.

I received your 14 instant^a and hope ere now your lady is f. 402.
safely arrived and refreshed after her longe iourney. The books of
this weeke from London give as little as the former weeke, only
the names of some committed in Worcestershire, which whether
newly done or only the list new set forth I cannot learne, and the
names of the shire captaines, where I finde our County not
reckoned. I heare some have received letters but noe further
newes. There is great appearance of kindnes to the Swede by all
the relacions I heare, but whether they ioyne in any plott I cannot
assure myselfe by any reason of my owne or information from
others by any circumstances. Cr. may be willinge to keepe faire
with y^t King, but they cann hardly ioyne forces or be sharers in
acquests; and, if they agree to troble the world, I see not how the
Pole should any way conduce to Cr's ends, for, if he be conquered,
it adds not to Cr. If the Swede fall on the Allyes of Spaine, soe
as Cr. may have the easier worke vpon the Indies, it may then be
thought a designe; but as yet that is not open. Perhaps if Po. be
subdued, it wilbe professed, but for my present opinion I doe not
thinke there is any associacion betwene them further then commerce

^a For this letter of $\frac{4}{14}$ Sept. see *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 315.

1655. and peace. But I know not coniunctures enough to fix a resolution, there being many reasons wherefore Cr. should treat the Swede better then others, they being active and warlike and att present in armes with powerfull forces; and you will finde the books tell of their successes at full, though I see not what advantage Cr. could gett if the Swede were master of the Baltique Sea, for certainly he would then lesse esteeme England and would have a greater meanes to doe it hurt then any have that now possesse it, the Swede being likely to have an harder hand then they that now hold it. I have not seene Mons^r Somelsdike since my commyng from Amsterdam, but shall take occasion to speake with him of it vpon the first opportunity; but our busines is in such a condition as those here care little to talke much with vs, wee having little to say and, as they thinke, as little to hope.

Touching Cr's guard, I am not apt to be of opinion that he will adventure to have a guard of strangers, for it must exasperate the army against him, in whome all his trust and strength lyeth, and he cannot be confident of them, being by many bonds of vicinity and interest tyed to the French. Its true he hath collected a great summe for the Vaudois, and the books publish it soe as he cannot soe easily divert it. I shall, with as much secrecy as may be, inquire into it, but beleve that here none apprehend it probable. I heare Opdam^a talks of going, but some tell me the preparation is small and not likely to be any designe of importance. Touching the fine,^b I gave you my sence of it, and surely they have little reason to expect it from any y^t have lost fortunes for their conscience. Wee heare nothing more of Blake then what the books bringe. The Holland Vergadering now sits, but wee know nothinge of their Councells. I heare that the Pr. R. takes her iourny Munday next for Franckford, and so I perceive her servants here vnderstand. Upon the

^a See vol. ii. p. 68. He was going in command of a Dutch fleet to the Baltic (*Cal. St. Pap.*, p. 315).

^b "Heenvliet and his lady take it nnkindly that I declined to execute the commission for her levying a fine, but I take it ill that any offer me a commission by a power derived from the rebels" (Nicholas to Jane, as above).

death of Bredrode, Pr. William wrote to the States for the place he held and in his letter recounted his services to them, and De Witt (the pensioner) reading it in Councell to the mencion of great services added "att Amsterdam," as if it had beene a part of the period. It was bold in regard of him and the presence of States, but it seemes he may be soe. My Lady Cotterell is hasting into England and M^{rs} Stanhope goes with her. My wife presents you her service, and to your lady, and soe doth

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Brux. 20 Sept. 1655.

. . . . I doe not doubt that there is a greate intelligence betweene the Suedes and Cromwell, and the gronde of it is that the principall persons of the Kingdome of Sueden, composing the Councell of Trade, in which they are interested, will by no meanes bee att variance with those that can bee a hinderance vnto it; nor doe I doubt that Cromwell hath had a hande in that Kings designe upon the places of Poland that lie on the Balthick and particularly upon Dantzick, nay that hee hath promisd that the saide King shall not bee interrupted in it by the States of the Low Countries and that is the reason why their sea preparations goe so slowly on and doe meete with so many difficulties, as till now it is not fully resolud whither they shall sende or not, but left to certaine Commissioners, which are to make their reporte about it. For my part, I am of opinion it will not goe on, and that the aduice of those of North Holland will be followed, who saide in the late assembly of that prouince, in answeere to some who spake to the contrary, that, if the Suedes did prevaile in Poland, the States opposition to them in rendring themselues maisters of the porte townes in Prussia wold be vseles and perhaps dangerous; if they did not, it wold not bee necessary, and therefore they ought to tem-

1655.

porize to see what wolde become of that busines. Wee heare that Penn^a is returnd with 26 shipps of his fleete, and that the 10^m men cashird in Scotland and Ireland are to bee sent to Jamayca in 14 fregates and 18 other shipps that are making in all haste in England. It is also beleueed for certaine that 4 of Blakes fleete haue beene cast away. And so I kiss your hands and remaine

Your Honours most humble seruant,

[H. DE VIC.]

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Sir H. de Vic.

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

HON^{ble} Sr,

Bruxells, 20th Sept. 1655.

f. 407.

I haue herewith sent yow Mr. Ouertons letter,^b which I receaued but the last Friday. I was afrayd by the longe stay that he had repented himselfe of his good intentions, but by his letter his resolucions seame constant. I wish Mr. Brookes [Sexby] may succede so well as Mr. Ouerton fancies to himselfe, yet it were to be desired that the negociacion were set upon the bottome of the kinges score. I haue in this daies letter to Mr. Ouerton tendered him my particular opinion, which is that, yf it could be handsonly insinuated by Mr. Brookes to the Spaniard that the kinge and Mr. Brookes party would joine togeather against the common enemy Cromwell, it would much facilitate his negociacion with the Spaniard. The Leuellers, though they be very considerable, yet with the addicion of the kinge and his party would be infinitely more, and would induce the Spaniard to undertake the designe with more alacrity. If Mr. Ouerton apprehend this coniunction necessary to be made knowen to the Spaniard, I desire to receaue from yow his Ma^{ty} orders how to procede farther in it, which is to

^a Penn reached Spithead on 31 Aug., was examined by the Council on 12 Sept. and committed to the Tower, with Gen. R. Venables, on 20 Sept. He was released on 25 Oct. (*Cal. St. Pap.* and *Thurloe St. Pap.* iii. p. 753, iv. p. 28).

^b See above, p. 43.

propound some fit person on the kinges behalfe to be sent to Spaine or to treat with the Spanish ministers here about the mutuall undertakinge the meanes to destroy Cromwell, but I will do nothinge in it without his Ma^{ty} order, neither durst I make this motion unto Mr. Ouerton untill he be farther ingaged and that I receaue his answer how he resents this. 1655.

For that clause of Mr. Ouertons letter which mentions the Jewes, it proceeded from some discourses I had with Mr. Brokes [Sexby] about them, who seemed much to fauour them as necessary for a kingdome, and I beleieue there tenents do not much differ. I desired Mr. Ouerton to sound there intentions by some of his party in Holland. I am very sorry they agre with Cromwell. The Jewes are considerable all the world ouer, and the great masters of money. If his Ma^{ty} could either haue them or diuert them from Cromwell, it were a uery good seruice. I heard of this 3 yeares agoe, but hoped the Jewes, that understand the interest of all the princes in the world, had bene too wise to aduenture themselues and estates under Cromwell, where they may by his death or other alteration in that kingdome runn the hazard of an absolute ruine; but they hate monarchy and are angry for the patent that was granted by Kinge James to my Lord of Suffolke for the discouery of them, which made most of the ablest of them fly out of England.

I receaued yours dated the 14th present but on Friday last after the post was gone. The inclosed I haue sent to M^r Ouerton this day. I suppose he is acquainted with much of that designe, because M^r Brookes tould me that he was imployed by Cromwell amongst the Hugonetts in France and brought a paper under thowsand of there handes to Cromwell to inuite him to sende some forces into France to ioine with them to assert there priuiledges. Maior Jammot can giue yow farther informacion; one Mon^s de la Bour, a Hugonet seruant of the Prince of Condees, was imployed by the Spaniard and his M^r to Cromwell and so into France to the Hugonetts (as I remember) with M^r Brookes, for they 2 are very kinde. De la Bour spoke to Maior Jammot to goe with him into

1655. Daulphine and to take imployment with the Hugonetts, but its thought that designe is almost spoiled. Cardinall Mazarine hath got notice of it by promising one of them his life and hath put diuers in Burdeaux to death about it. Here is a gent reports from S^r Ed. Pitts, who tould him that, beinge uery familiar with a greate Switzes Collonell in England, S^r Ed. met the same man some 2 or 3 monthes since at the Hague, where he tould S^r Ed. in greate secrecy that he had in Holland receaued twenty thowsand poundes from Cromwell to raise forces in Switzerland to joine with the Hugonotts of France. Perhappes, as yow write, yf it beginne it may begett a war of religion, but the Roman Catholiques haue noe app[r]ehension of it as yet, especially the Spaniard and English Catholiques, who seame in wordes only startled at the tender of the oath of abiuracien. Most conceaue it a tricke of state to beget a beleife in the Hugonetts of Cromwells constancy to them and perhappes to let the Pope se what he must expecte, yf he comply not with his agents now at Rome. In the gazetts of this towne, "de Rome, 21 August, le mesme iour arriuerent ici 3 seigneurs anglois enuoies a sa s^{te} par le protecteur Cromwell pour l'asseurer, a ce qu'on dit, qu'ill n'a point ce dessein contre l'eglise et traiter de plusieurs affaires secretes." Doctor Baly and one M^r Metham are two of these rouges; the third I know not. It is here confidently reported that they had paid them thre thowsand pistolls upon there comminge to Rome, that they sent to my Lord Thomas Sommerset^a and the rector of the English Colledge to come to them, which they did, although the agents had not bene to uisit them, which is not the custome at Rome. Some say the agents are in want at Rome, went to Ligorne and could but get an 100 pistolls. M^r Metham I haue the unhappinesse to be his kinesman^b;

^a See vol. ii. p. 292.

^b See the pedigree of Metham of Metham in Dugdale's *Visitation of Yorkshire*, 1665 (Surtees Soc. vol. xxxvi. p. 139). Sir Jordan Metham (*ob.* 1643) married Margaret, dau. of Will. Langdale of Lanthrope, and had eight sons, Jordan, killed

he much degenerates from his kindred. His uncle and eldest brother were killed with me in his Ma^{ty} service. His second brother passed his nouischipp amongst the Jesuists, but beinge noe preist came home to enjoy the land, was in the last ingagement with me, was taken prisoner, set at liberty by S^r Thom. Fairefax, and his estate giuen him on condicion to marry the Lord Fairefax of Imoleies syster, which he did. Thom. Metham was his Ma^{ty} Cornet when [he] was prince. This wicked villaine was likewise in the nouishippe with the Jesuists and was in uery high esteeme with them, but, as they pretende, was turned out for wildnesse. He became gracious with the Portugall ambassadour, but how he came by this imployment I know not. I am uery sorry, because his mother was a Langdale, my cosen germanes daughter. One of them is yet a Jesuiste. I am afrayd there are more people interessed in those persons negociacion then will appeare yet. I heare his Ma^{ty} hath sent to Rome by a Jesuist at Cullen. I was sollicitous with father Babthorpe, who is chosen by his order of Jesuists, to take Cullen in his way to Rome. He is to congratulate the popes promotion, but he alledged many misheiffes and jealousies might come to him thereby. He is one knowen to his Ma^{ty}^a and seames to fauour uery much his Ma^{ty} cause, but I doubt there is some misunderstandinge betwene the Catholiques and his Ma^{ty}, especially the English. They thinke themselues much cheated by my lord Cottington the last time he was at Bruxells in sendinge M^r Mennell^b the preist to Rome with many faire promisses and presently after was the treaty at Breda, whereat the Pope was excessiue dis-

at Pontefract, John, who died young, George, who married Catharine, dau. of Thomas, Viscount Fairfax of Emley, Francis, Thomas, William, Henry, and John. Sir Thomas Metham, brother of Sir Jordan, was killed at Marston Moor, 1644.

^a He was Rector of the English College at Rome, and was employed by Charles on a mission there in 1650 (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. pp. 45, 56).

^b Robert Meynell, sent to Rome in Aug. 1649 to negotiate for aid from the Pope on condition of favours to be shown to the Catholics (*Clar. St. Pap.* ii. p. 488). The latter were, however, thrown over in the treaty with the Scots at Breda, signed 1 May, 1650.

1655. pleased outwardly, though some beleive he was glad of the occasion thereby to saue his money. Some of them alledge his Ma^{ty} is about an agrement with the Presbitereans, on whose behalfe comes my Lord Belcarris with full power from the kingdome of Scotland and my Lord of Rochester from those of England with the proffer of two hundred thowsand poundes and to engage Sr Thom. Farefax. The Duke of Gloucester is to marry his daughter.

These are the Catholickes jealousies and will infinitely hinder any proposition that his Ma^{ty} can make at Rome. Methinkes there might be some course found out to rectify these misunderstandings at Rome. Noe man can be so foolish, that hath any affections to the Kinge or his seruice, that would not be glad the Kinge should be restored, though it were to the utter extirpacion of the Catholickes out of England; yet when it is seriously considered that noe one party is able to settle the Kinge and that the Catholickes of England, though they be not considerable there, yet they are in this part of the world, and, if they could be joined in one common interest, it would make the worke lesse difficult. I went to waite on my Lord Belcarris at his last beinge at Antwerpe in his way to Cullen. I tould him it was impossible to settle the Kinge without a generall complicacion of all parties that for there seuerall interests pretended to be for the Kinge. He seamed nothinge auerse to it. I could wish some meanes or other were found out that my Lord Belcarris or any other that are imployed by the Presbitereans might satisfy under there handes either to father John Wilfourde at Rome, who, I beleive, correspondes with M^r Moubray, that is Count Lesleyes kinsman, now at Cullen, and with M^r Chancelour, or with any other of his Ma^{ty} agents at Rome, that the agitation with his Ma^{ty} by the Presbitereans is noe way exclusiue to the Roman Catholikes, but that His Ma^{ty} may giue them what condicions he pleaseth and that they will joine with them. This is only my opinion, which I humbly offer to satisfy them at Rome of his Ma^{ty} reality, that he will not treat with one party of one fashion, with another of a contrary manner, which for my selfe I am satisfied his Ma^{ty} abhorres.

I beseeche yow pardon this teadiousnese and impertineney. We haue here the same newes of the intimacy betwene the Sweades and Cromwell, so as I thinke Leut. Gen. Middleton will do litle good there. So rests

Your most humble and most faithfull seruant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

Mr Brokes businesse will come to Rome, so as it is necessary for the Kinge to be well understood there.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 21 7^{bre}, 1655.

I have your 17^a instant and very glad of your ladyes safe arrivall. The letter that mencioned a list of persons to be tryed in 10^{ber} came hither, as I was told, from M^{rs} Lane and I beleeeve M^{rs} Broughton would not have spoken it if it had not beene soe. I shewed your newes^b to Mons^r Somelsdike, to whome it seemed improbable and he gave noe manner of countenance to it, and truly I remayne of the opinion I wrote you formerly in that particuler. Its sayed here y^t Blake remaynes before Cadiz with 18 sayle. The Spaniards have set forth 30, which are in kenn of each other but attempt nothinge, the Spaniards having not vnderstood of the attempt vpon St Domingo till from hence and England, and the advertisements are longe on the way, soe as their ministers have had noe returne from thence. But they beleeeve y^t they shall spedily heare that the Spaniard will take notice of it. I am told that Cardenas hath written to the Ambassador here y^t there were 3000 slayne att Hispaniola, 1500 taken, and the rest saved by swyminge, 5 shipps stranded and set on fire. Its sayed Cardenas is noe frinde to Cromwell and thother here a serious enemy. They beleeeve vpon the newes received in Spaine Cardenas wilbe recalled. Its sayed

^a This letter is in *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 325.

^b "I send well confirmed intelligence from England about Cromwell and the Swedes" (Nich. as above).

1655. Penn comes away and leaves 16 shippes to attend the plate fletee Prince W^m is in towne and it seemes presseth for Bredrodes place. Sunday mornynge the States of Holland sate and at the same tyme the Radts Heres for the iustice, which seemed vnusuall. Afterwards I heard one Riven a greffier and De Wits clarke were committed and Rivens wife and his papers seized. Some thinke its a beginninge to reach at some others and y^t, these men beinge accused of divulging secrets, *Prince William and Somelsdike* will be pusht att for the receivers; and its said this tyme of competition is proper for the attempt, for its said *Somelsdike* is in some way to a stepp, if not prevented by this accident. When it was spoken *to him by me*, not knowing how he might be concerned in it, *L^a sawe how* [he was] *not willing to heare of it* and had apprehensions of such a sequell. . . .

Cardenas writes from England y^t Cr. is in very great perplexity vpon this disappointment of his expedition and in great wante of mony, which is not vnlikely, and nothing will sooner end his Empire then an engagement in a forreyne warr, which must bring necessity and violence vpon him when he is once driven to entreat. In this case he sayes the petitions were contrived for encrease of his titles, which he referring to his Councell had but 3 of his party, the rest flatly opposite, which much enraged him. This he thinks will drawe on a Parliament, which if it doe, I may probably thinke he must comply to terms, which will certainly be to make them his masters, and then he is gone, for I beleeve they will not againe trust him with a militia, having knowen the effects of it. And then wee muste have our enemyes the republique. What that will produce tyme only can tell, but I verily beleeve he is in a doubtfull case if his fleets prosper not. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

* "305," so deciphered, rightly according to the key, but probably a mistake for 258 = I.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

1655

f. 412.

Upon Munday last I went to take leaue of D. Ant. de Pimentel,^a who hauing acquainted mee with the Queene of Suedens approouing of an interuiew with his Ma^y as shee past by Cullen, and confirmd it the next day, when hee returnd mee my visitt, I thought that without any hazard of being refused or otherwise treated then became one of my quality I might aduenture to waite on her and pass a complement with her upon occasion of her present iourny. And accordingly I had audience of her yesterday morning, in which, after shee had thankd mee in ny particular for my respects to her, shee spake uery kindly and with greate esteeme of the Kinge our maister, wishing it were in her power to make demonstrations of it of more vse and aduantage to him then such as doe stande with her present condition, addinge that she was putt in expectation of seing him in her way. In the afternoone shee begann her iourny, attended by the Archduke, who tooke his leaue of her about a league and a half from this Towne, and so shee went to Louuain, where shee lay last night. It was giuen out that yesterday morning shee was to goe a hunting, but it was only to couer her going to Masse at Barlemont cloister, which being ended shee gaue the Abbesse occasion to present her with some Agnus Dei's and other cloister worke, with which shee was much delighted. As shee was comming away, the Abbess spied a chapelet about her arme, and therupon with greate joy cried out, "O Madame, you are then one of ours." "No, no," answered the Queene, "I am a good Lutherane; but, howsoeuer, I hope to bringe you some good relicts from Rome and true ones." I am told that shee hath caused a scepter of gold to bee made with a crowne att the topp of it, all besett with diamonds and rubies to the value of some fiue or six thousand crownes, which shee meanes to offer att Nostre Dame

^a Formerly Spanish Resident at Stockholm, and appointed to attend upon Queen Christina during her stay in the Netherlands.

1655. de Lorrette, but not vntil shee comes back, att which time also and not before shee meanes to receiue such respects as the princes through whose territories shee shall pass will putt upon her. In the meane-time shee will auoide, as I am told, all honorary receptions, and not stopp in any place but att Inspruck, where shee will stay six or seauen dayes. All these particulars, and many others I shall not trouble you with, are greate arguments that shee intends to change her Religion and become a Romane Catholick, and not that alone, but that att her return hither shee will buy Egmond howse and make it a cloister. . . .

Your Honours most humble servant,

[H. DE VIC.]

Br[ussels], this 23 Septem. 1655.

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Sir H. de Vic.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 24 7^{bre}, 1655.

f. 413.

I received your 21^a and cann returne little, the weeke beinge as barren as the former, and though one of the books spekes of Cr's amendment, yet many thinke he continues sicke or trobled, for he hath never felt a losse till now, and all agree its very sharpe and that they tooke Jamiaca for mere necessity, not knowinge els how to dispose of their sicke men and preserve themselves vpon the losse received; for this strikes him in point of reputacion with the vulgar in England, who beleevd him invincible, and the souldiery in regard of former successe thought themselves soe too. Next this plucks him low in mony and he wilbe putt to it hard; for, if his fortune fayle, the peoples boldnes will increase and the orders of his Councell will hardly gett mony and a parliament will have conditions that must make him nothinge. You know whose conclusion it was, when the D. of Buckingham was engaged in a warr, that the wants of mony would ruyn him, and I have alwayes wisht

* See *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 347.

y^t Cr. might once try a forreyne warr; and I ever thought the valour of these rebells would never be prooffe but in their helborne rebellion. I know not whether his death would be more profitable now then his life, for one lesse hated then he might succcede, y^t might mollifie the hard opinion of the people and gaine a strength from the hatred to thother and out of his wicked beginings erect a plausible regiment, havinge the benefit of the former violence and the new complacency. 1655.

Here is much talke of the attempt for y^e trienniall parliament and that they meane punctually to pursue the lawe and chuse by the legall voyces and townes, which to me seems a Presbiterian dreame, for beinge now six yeres since the death of the Kinge, they will not account from them, but from Cr's turnyng out of y^t cursed relique which they called the old parliament. If they take y^t to be a parliament, then it hath yet continuance, notwithstanding the expulsion, and may resume itselfe; if not, they must take their computacion from the murder of y^e Kinge, and then they give the cause and proclayme the Kings right, all the acts done after his death being voyde, and then all sales of delinquents estates and others are damned, and this none of those talkers will ever doe. Now some say y^t St John is an vndertaker in this and pretends hereby to vnite Cromwell and the people, but I cannot apprehend y^t Cromwell will have his throat cutt with a feather or will trust such a fine spun policy. And if Cromwell like it not, will freeholders or burrowes meete, when there are troopes thus disposed in all Countyes? If they doe, I shall conclude it an act conducted beyound my foresight and our fortune. . . .

Its thought the mony collected for the Protestants in or about Savoye shall goe to Cromwells owne account, they having now a peace, and one hard enough, they receiving a pardon and the cryme admitted into the Articles. Some say they will not accept what their deputies have done. I have noe acquaintance with any about the Sp. Amb^r, and have very little means to obteyne it. I

1655. shall inquire what I can. Though Mr Som[melsdijk] beleevd Pavy^a to be in a readynes to yeild, yet all of this weeke say the French are like to depart re infecta. There is noe more speech now of the French proceedings on this side, and I am told that they may be in some danger to gett of, the Spaniards having a great army of horse and foot. I beleeve Cromwell fears little to be abhorred, but he may feare the declension of his power. Some say his army grows vnruly and, being drawn out into Tuthill feilds, would not be commanded by their officers but others. To quiett them, it was sayed Cromwell would be in state to come abroade within a day or two, and then they should have satisfaction from himselfe . . .

Your honours hvmblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

DUKE OF ORMONDE.

GOOD MR SECR.,

Frankfort, 25 Sep., 1655.

- f. 415. Yours of the 23^d came seasonably to the curtious end you proposed, for I had it this morning and wee arriued here last night.^b I then imediately gave his Ma^{tie} my Lord Wentworths leter and haue this euning put him in minde of it, which, being ignorant of the contents, is all I haue to doe. If hee shall give me any answer to it, or comand mee to say any thing vpon it, before my leters goe, I shall not faile on my parte. I finde it is not doubted but that Pen is returnd and that the successe of the expedition has not bin answerable to Cromwells wish, and then, till I know beter reason, I am sure it must bee suteable to mine. I should bee glad

^a The siege of Pavia was raised by the Marquis of Caracena and the French forced to retire.

^b See Nicholas to Jane, $\frac{17}{17}$ Sept. "Next week the King, Duke of Gloucester, Princess Royal and Lady Stanhope are going incognito to Frankfort Fair; a strange journey, all things considered, but young princes think of nothing but pleasure" (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 325).

to finde him driuen ether to call a Parliament or to doe some extraordinary thing for want of mony. I am confident it was that sent vs to Francfort faire, and why it may not send him to a wors place, I see not.

1655.

I see no reason why wee may not bee at Cullen on Saturday night, but I dare not promis you wee shall. Wee haue already seene the Jews sinagogue, the Faire, and a play, and to-morrow wee shall bee at a Lutheran service. Monsters here are none that I can heare of, nor puppet plays, and what els can bee worth our stay. In our returne it will be contrived to haue a meeting betweext the King and the Ellector of Mentz. By my computation this will bee with you on a busy day, which is your recreation as much as the Faire is mine, and so I leaue you to it, with assureance that I am

Your most faithfull servant,

ORMONDE.

The King haueing tould mee the busines was in fauour of Capⁿ Stanton, I haue bin bold so to remember him of it, that the leter is obtaind and herewith enclosed. I know you will not forbear to write till wee haue set downe our day of returne. 2 Lutheran churches wee haue seen; they are beter than Colen, but far short of ours.

26 Sep.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Br., this 27 Sept., 1655.

. . . . I am uery gladd that the Queene of Sueden intends to pass by Francfurt, that the endeauors and ajustment for her meeting with the Kinge may not haue beene ineffectuall. For the commitments in Holland, of which I haue all the particulars, I belecue there is somethinge more in it than in reference to the particular of Co. William. Wee haue had here a stronge report that Crom. was dead; others saide that hee was faln into one of his madd fitts, like to that att Edinburg. But the letters of less passionate and

f. 418.

1655. more judicious persons say that hee hath beene sick of a stone chollick, of which hee was not yet so well recouerd as his physitians had not forbidden him to attend and trouble himself with any publick affaires and not without reason. . . .

Unsigned; endorsed, Sir H. de Vic.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 28 7^{br} 1655.

- f. 421. I received your 24,^a and since my last vnderstand nothing to acquaint you of. . . . Nothing is come from England. Sr W. Vane expects the wynde to be gone. I did beleeeve that the Spanish Councell had longe since intelligence of the English proceedings, but it would not come to them soe soone from any place on this side the world as from hence or England, and the posts goe not soe soone, the iourney being longe. If Blake fall on the Spaniard, they have then nothing to pretend against the violacion of the peace, where now they pretend noe agreement beyound the tropike, and the Spaniard, it seemes, expects they should beginn. I beleeeve the Spaniard is not only slow in resolutions, but much disabled by the French invasions on this side; and many thinke their affaires are not governed soe prudently as they would be conceived. The Protestant Princes are soe divided in interest and inclinations as I cannot see how there cann be such an vnion as is signified, for the German Princes found the Swedes soe heavy on them last as they would not willinglie be vnder their mercy againe; and if there be a breach on the toleration of religion to the Princess Sophia with the Swedes brother, there is not much like of confidence. And they have made tryall of the French and finde that noe better in point of their interest, and therefore, whatever Cr. propound, I beleeeve it signifies nothing but a suspension of pro-

^a See *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 335. The cipher "613" is there wrongly supposed by the editor to refer to Prince Maurice; it is here deciphered by Nicholas himself as "Somelsdick" (see above, p. 18).

1655.

gresse on either side with their leauge. I would gladly have some way to y^e Sp. Amb., but I know not yet how to contrive it, having not a confident among that religion, but shall observe all opportunities that may give me accesse to them, and endeavour to get somewhat that may conduce to their informacion, which is yet a great want, for they will expect some light from those that receive any from them, which is difficult for me to procure. I heare nothing more of the proceedings against the persons apprended. Though *the Prince* be intended, yet *Somelsdick* is not forgotten, for its said y^t, if *the gouernor of S. C.* be now preferred, as is endeavoured, *Somelsdick* is likely to be chosen against the likinge of *Holland* and therefore there is soe much care taken. I know not M^r Oudarts^a principall errand; he goes hence for Colen, as he told me, tomorrow. He is to have a very rich match, tenne thousand pounds deepe, and, being made of the Princess Councell, the dignitie wilbe suitable. Some say here that the Swede prospers still in Poland, but there is noe certenty of the report with you that I heare. The information you have touching the Jewes applications to England may have ground upon the going over of many of them; and among the rest Manasseh ben Israell,^b a learned Rabbi among them att Amsterdam, is gone over, but he pretended only a short stay. I cann say nothing to the purpose of it, having heard nothing upon that occasion, neither have I heard any thing of such a man as S^r Edward Pitts or any that should pretend such a negociacion from Cromwell. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

^a Nicholas Oudart, secretary to the Princess of Orange (see vol. i. p. 73). The wife he was about to marry was Eva, dau. of "John Francis Tortarolis," as described in her husband's will (Chester, *Westm. Abbey Reg.* p. 204). Nicholas speaks of her as a "handsome gentlewoman, who, with her sister, has kept up their father's Lombard [house] at Leyden since his death" (*Cal. St. Pap.* 1655, p. 375).

^b For his doings in England and a copy of his "Humble Address" to Cromwell, reported upon in Council on 13 Nov. (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 15), see Wolf, as above (p. 44, note), p. 10. Cromwell gave him a pension of £100.

1655.

COLONEL HERBERT PRICE.

S^r,Flushing, 28th Sep^r. [1655].

f. 423.

. . . . The news of England is only that vppon the death of S^r Oliver Cromwell^a and sicknesse, that the rogue Cromwell was soe, but the rogue hath counterfeted and retyred himselfe to see what the world will say vppon the report that will generally be of Oliver Cromwell's death. . . .

Your most humble and faithfull servant,

HERB. PR[ICE].

SIR E. NICHOLAS TO SIR M. LANGDALE.^b

$\frac{1}{2}$ Sept. 1655.

If Mr. Brookes shall of himself insinuate to the Spaniard (if he be gone for Spain, whereof I perceive some are doubtfull) that the K's party in England and Mr. Brookes friends will join, I conceive it may not be amiss. But you know the humour of Mr. Brookes's party is such as that that business is to be very warily and tenderly handled. Lest some among them come to understand of it before they are (by some of the wiser sort of that party in whom they confide) prepared for it, I should oppose it. I can assure you there [is] as much done to incline the K. of Spain as wise man can wish, and nothing left undone to beget a right understanding at Rome, if I am, as I believe, truly informed. Whatsoever you may have been told, I am credibly assured there is much more application made to the Catholics than to the Presbyterians, and to my knowledge the K. desires above all things to take in all parties that will serve him. But it is impossible to give satisfaction to the

^a K. B., of Hinchinbrooke, co. Hunts, the Protector's uncle. He died æt. 93, and was buried at Ramsey, 28 Aug. (Clutterbuck, *Hertford*, ii. p. 96).

^b From the volume of extracts by Dr. Tho. Birch, Add. MS. 4180, f. 131b (see Vol. i., preface).

different humours and principles of all parties, who hold it their interest to destroy one another. But what may be reasonably done to content them all is really endeavoured. Albeit I cannot believe there is any such treaty, much less an agreement, as you mention concerning the Presbyterians in England and Scotland (on whose behalf, you say, the Earl of Rochester and Lord Belcarres are intrusted to make offers to his Majesty of a great sum of money and other proposicions), yet I am confident the K. leaves no prudent means to gain all parties to join for his and their own interests. There hath been no Jesuit sent by the K. from this place for Rome or elsewhere that I can learn or hear of. 1655.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 1 8^{bre} 1655.

I have your 28 7^{ber.}^a The books of this week will give you as little as the former, but, though they endeavour to make somewhat of their Indie busines, its not difficult to discern they have but sorry comfort in it. Cromwells death was reported here, as with you, without any ground at all, and the riddle is now over, there commynge noe more of it. Its impossible that their army and a parl. will ever agree now the men of warr know their power; and their tempers are much like those of the Romane pretorians, y^t never endured an emperour in whose promotion the senate had any part, but would have him wholly their creature. And the men of peace and warr are come to flat opposition and the sword will master, knowing the weaknes of the robe and especially the parliament members. I shall not wonder if St Johns be tampering in any such designe, upon confidence of the opinion the parl. will have of him, though he will probably misse his marke. If Cr. should have a suddayne successor, it wilbe an hard resolution for him, whosoever he be, to deveste himselfe, hazard the surprize of f. 435.

^a See *Cul. St. Pap.* p. 357.

1655. himselfe by the souldiery and change his inclinations, but what wayes God will use wee cannot foresee. . . .

They say the Archduke conducted the Queene [of Sweden] some way onward, but with noe great pompe and kissed her not. I little heed what shee does, but she may be fit for them that value proselites in picture without regard to any demonstration of piety or devotion. The report is here that the clarke that hath beene questioned shalbee executed and have his head stricke of. I am told that the question arose first upon some complaint made by Pr. William, wherein he tooke notice of some thinges thoughte secret, and thence came the enquirie. This I am told, but cannot vndertake for the authority, though I think it not impossible. The Commissioners that have longe stayed here seeme to complaine and, as I heare, have written to be recalled, for the Dutch are not forward to grant them a staple here as formerly, and some say Skinner^a hath great animosity upon that backwardnes and some are apt to beleeeve y^t it may proccede to some misvnderstanding betweene them and a breach not improbable . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

I heare for certeyne Cromwell hath borrowed 60,000^l of the money payed by the Dutch.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Br. this 4 Oct. 1655.

f. 437.

Wee haue newes come hither both by the way of the sea and by land that by order from the Courte att Madrid arrests had beene made upon the persons and goods of the Eng. marchands att St Sebastian and St Andera, so that I beleeeue it to bee true; but

^a Probably Thomas Skinner, representative of the Merchant Adventurers (see a letter from him to Thurloe from the Hague, 15 Oct., *Thurloe St. Pap.* iv. p. 68).

I am afraide it is not upon the accompt of Pens late attempt in the Indies, but in satisfaction of some of the Kinge of Spaynes subiects who, when Blake was att Cadiz, furnished him with all manner of prouisions for his fleete to the summe of 40^m lb sterlinge. This I haue from a good hande, and that the English Consul in that place, who had past his worde for those prouisions, finding Blake vnable or vnwilling to pay them, and heo being himself much in debt, taking occasion to goe aboard the Amiral as to visitt him, went away with him without giving satisfaction for them. Wee haue also newes that Blake was in the River at Lisbonne, and like to joine there with some shippes of the Portugais, who to a good number were there in a readines, the treatie betweene them and Cromwell being now concluded 1655.

Your honours most humble servant,

[H. DE VIC]

. . . . I had made up this letter when a person of quality came to see me and to tell me that there hath beene a generall arrest in Spayne upon the English shippes and goods, and that att Malaga and Cadiz only 62 English shippes had been seized. That the newes of it had made a great stirr in England, from whence an express was come into this country to their correspondents here to looke to themselves. But, vnles express order come from Spayne about it, the English marchands in these partes will haue time to dispose of their goods, for so it was in the time of the last warr betweene the two Crownes.

Unsigned; endorsed, Sir H. De Vic.

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

HON^{ble} Sr,

Bruxells, 4th Octob. 1655.

. . . . Mr. Ouertons letter mentions the hopefull successe of Mr. Brokes [Col. Sexby] negotiacion, which I concluded was rather f. 439

1655. in Spaine then Rome, because I know the articles were made here in this towne by the Count Fuentsaldagnia, which, as his letters saieth, he will farther acquainte me with them in time. But, because they are upon the score of a commonwealth, I was desirous to endeauour all meanes of puttinge that designe upon the kinges score, wherein I must have orders from His Ma^{ty} how to procede; but it should seame Mr. Ouerton is somewhate nice to, because I haue not heard from him since my last to you. For that of the Earle of Rochester and my lord Belcarris, it is but the common newes of this towne, which troubles the English Catholikes, who are very tickle; for that of my lord Fairefax and the Duke of Gloucester, it is common talke in this towne and Yorkeshire, bruited abroad by one Coll. Rob Branline,^a who bragges himselfe to haue bene an instrument to S^r Thom. Fairefax. Nich. Armorer knowes the man to be a very knave and not fit to be trusted. There are others employed in somethinge of that kinde that are honest. What I said about Mr. Mennell, I had it partly from himselfe at Breda and this towne and at Rome by those employed by him, which is much objected here at this time. For S^r Ed. Pitts, I know him not, but he reported the same to a freind of mine at Antwerp and is gone to France with intent to acquainte the Kinge of France. N[icho]las (?) de la Bour [and the] Marquis de Coniacke^b should haue gone presently into Switzerland about it, but haue orders from the Prince of Condé to stay untill they heare how the peace in Sauoy will stand, which is supposed was but made to gaine time till Cromwell paid his money. Howeuer, I haue gotten your relacion most part of it put into the gazet of this towne and haue sent it to

^a Perhaps Col. Rob. Brandling, of Leathby, co. York (Surtees, *Durham*, ii. p. 91), and the Col. Brandling whose examination was reported by Col. Lilburne to the Protector from York, 25 Jan. 1653 (*Thurloe St. Pap.* iv. p. 468).

^b Pierre de Caumont, Marquis de Cugnac, a grandson of Arnaud Nompar de Caumont, Duc de la Force. He had been associated with Barrière in a mission to England, and m. the dau. and heir of Dr. Turquet de Mayerne. De la Bour is mentioned above, p. 51, but his identity is doubtful.

Antwerpe to put it in there. If yow haue any more, I shall get them put in, these people beinge willinge to print any thinge now to the disgrace of Cromwell, and it is commonly reported the English marchants goods are seised in Spaine. The Quene of Swede made greate professions of service to our Kinge contrary to her late custome. It is much hoped and wished here that his Ma^{ty} will se hir and Piemontell, who is both here and in Spaine in greate reputacion with Don Lewis de Haro, the fauorite there. Sir, pardon this fredome from

Your most humble and most faithful seruant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 5 8^{br}, 1655.

. . . . There is speech here y^t Cromwell expressed anger at Penns returne without order and that Penns answere was as feerce, that he was not to fight with impossibilities, which were without the reach of Protectors or Kings to command, and that he must have perished and lost all, if he had not come away. But this I have only by report, and was told from one that sayed he spake it from a person of value here that the Dutch have intelligence that the English are beaten out of Jamaica and that their army and shippes are lost. This I heard very lately and I am not very backward to beleeeve it, for certenly they cover it as much as may be, and Venables commyng away after his death was written from the flecte makes me thinke some event hapned afterward. There is a rumour abroade that the Spaniard hath declared a warr with Cromwell and that Dunkirke and Ostend are open to any shippes for the Kinge; whence it comes, I know not. There is nothing of the proceedings in the Treaty with France, and that makes many thinke they are at a stand. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

1655.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

RIGHT HO^{ble},Ant: 8th Octob. 1655.

f. 443.

The Spanish ordinary who is now arriud brings, with the relation, sent by an express whome the Gouuernor of S^t Domingo dispatched to the Kinge his Maister, of the passages in the late attempt made there by the English, the confirmation of the former aduices concerning the generall seizure of the English shippes and goods throughout all Spayne. Concerning the first, the said relation, as it is brought hither and I haue seene it in French and in Spanish, is much in effect vnto that which wee had before, only adding y^t the saide Gouuernor or President, as hee is there calld, and that of the Hauana had raised 2^m men, which they were sending to Jamayca, from whence all men doe inferr that the English which were left there haue preuented their arriuall by a timely retreat vnto the Barbadoes, both for securities sake and to restore there to the maisters such of that plantation as Penn and Venables had made vse of in their late designe. To these, I meane to the planters men, is imputed the unsuccesse of that busines, which is the most shamefull in all respects that can bee imagined and for which, as Cromwell hath putt in prison both Penn and Venables, so hath the Kinge of Spayne rewarded the President of S^t Domingo for his good and beyond all apparence succesfull seruice with the title of Marquis and 6^m ducats a yeare; nor hath the express beene without his reward, for hee had a habito conferred upon him and I thinke 2^m ducats a yeare. There were no newes att all of the plate flete, but that it was daily expected. Most men doe conceiue a declared warr will ensue betweene Spayne and Cromwell, who, when the Spanish Marchands came vnto him to complaine of the arrest made upon their shippes and goods in Spayne, answered that they had had eight moneths warning, but since the warr was begunn hee wold as well as hee could protect both them and the nation. . . .

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Sir H. de Vic.

PERCY CHURCH.

1655.

RIGHT HON^{ble},Paris, this 8 of Octo^{br} 1655.

f. 446.

In returne to your Honours of Sep^{br} the 28th you will here find y^e transcript of my vsuall London letter, and with it from another freind who was present y^e heades of Cromwells speach to y^e Spanish marchants, both which may possibly not bee y^e wourst of your Honours aduises, for by them much may be collected as to Cromwells condition. I saw an oth^r letter which confirms y^e returne of some shippes and officers with Venables, though by Penn they were reported to haue bine left at Jamaica, wherevpon its conceaued y^t there is no force remayning in those parts, however at present pretended by Cromwell to counterpoise the clamours of those whoe are now come home, whoe say they will rather aduenture hanging then returne, and therefore what probability is there of S^r George Askue's voyage? And for Ad^{ll} Blake, though it now appeares by letters from seuerall parts y^t there has bine no ingagement, yet his retreat to Lixbo (upon approach of y^e Spanish Fleete), where hee certainly is, hath redowned much to dishonour, and aduantage of y^e Spaniard, for thereupon they made a generall seizure of all Englishe marchants effects in Spaine. Vpon the 5 instant M^r Scott write me this, as likewise y^t the plate fleete was not to returne home till y^e next yeare, which much troubles the marchants y^t are therein ingaged.

What I had heard of Collo. Banfield, I write by y^e last; and for Blacklows booke,^a I heare it is damnable as to the Kings interest and Catholicke doctrine, but haue not seene it. And for the Queene of Sweadens intention to declare herselfe Romanist, it is now generally spoken of, and, if so, I doubt not but shee will prooue more regular then y^e two Pillars your honour mentions,

^a *The Grounds of Obedience and Government*, 1655, by Thomas White, *als.* Blackloe, a Catholic priest and professor at Douay. See Evelyn's Diary, 25 June, 1651, "I went to visit [at Paris] Mr. Thomas White, a learned priest and famous philosopher, author of the book 'De Mundo.'"

1655. though not more firme in principles and loyallty, which is a thing alltogeather forgotten by two other brothers,^a now pillars to y^e Protestant Church and famous for their undertakings since they reuerted

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. P. Ch.

SIR GEORGE RADCLIFFE.

R^t HO^{ble},

Paris, 8 8^{bris}, 1655.

- f. 448. I have forborne now a good while to trouble you, partly by reason of an indisposition which has held me most part of the two moneths past, and partly for y^t I had nothinge to write but what you had from better handes. Yet I still thought myselfe in your debt for an accompt of the money which I writt to you to have bene sent out of England to *D. Glouc*. I had notice of it from y^e *Countes of Sunderland*; but I find a great variety from what was first related. *She* now saith that onely fourescore pound was sent for *D. Glouc.* into *Holl.*; and the *Lady* beinge remembred of a greater summe sent for his vse, she saith now that it was sent for another purpose. And indeed she is so reserved as makes mee thinke that *Mr Lovell* hath bene talkinge with her. I am sure that I had another story when I writ to you, differinge from what she now will acknowledge. . . .

I dare not ask you whether Spaine lookes after our K. thereby to secure himselfe from Cromwell; but, if any such thinge bee, I presume it will not be forgotten to advise *D. Yorke* what wilbe fit for him to doe. And in that or any thinge else, if *S^r G. Ratclif* may be vsefull, you wilbe pleased to give *him* such directions as you shall thinke fit. Pen and Venables accuse one another earnestly about this last attempt at Hispaniola; Munke is sent for out of Scotland, it is thought to take Pen's place. Cromwell knowes how

^a For an explanation, see below Church's letter of 29 Oct.

to change and displace great commanders, that no man may hold any great power longe. 1655.

My humble service to my good lady, who I presume is now with you at Cologne. Preserve in your good opinion,

Sir, your honors most humble servant,

DE COLTON.^a

. . . . I presume, Sir, you have the English newes more certainly than wee, though perhaps not so soone, and some particulars may come in one letter and not in an other. I have it from an intelligent man that diverse Regiments of Cromwells Army have appointed two Adjutants apiece, who meet and sitt in Councell in London and are about some propositions, which perhaps will not be very acceptable to Cromwell. Cromwell has divided England into six provinces, over each of which he has appointed a Governour; Lambert for y^e north, Desbrough for y^e west, Fleetwood for Cambrigeshire, Norfolk and y^t association, another for Wales, and y^e rest I know not.^b

I saw a copy of a Proclamation for y^e settlement of Ireland as if it were subscribed by Cromwell. It makes the Irish perfectly slaves according to y^e Civil Law and customes of old Rome. I feare that it is but a fained thinge.

RICHARD OVERTON TO SIR M. LANGDALE.^c

WORTHY SIR,

I have rec^d yours with his Majesties gracious letter inclosd, and beg your pardon y^t you have not had a retorne from me all this while; but y^e occasion was principally for y^t I have been sicke, it f. 450.

^a For this pseudonym see vol. i. p. 275.

^b The official announcement of the appointment of the twelve, not six, major-generals was not made till 31 Oct. but they had been chosen as early as August (see Firth, *Ludlow's Memoirs*, i. p. 406, and for the names Masson, *Life of Milton*, v. p. 49).

^c Enclosed in Langdale's of 11 Oct. below, p. 76.

1655. having pleased God to visite the place where I am with the pest. But God hath blest me from that; I sweat my distemper away, and now I bless God I am in very good health. The little paper of newes I sent for London, with a request to have it printed and scattered abroad the streets. The Anabaptists and Independants throw Queries and other printed papers about, all which shew the further increase of discontents. If I should write about y^t business (you wot of) to M^r Brooks [Sexby], it is 1000 to nothing it would never come to his hands; and in his to me he wish'd me not to write, for feare it should not come to his hands. I expect some sudden returne from him either by letter or in person. Thus with my humble service, and praying for your hea[^l]th I rest

Y^r most affectionate & faithfull servant,

R. OVERTON.

Delf, Octob^r 8, 1655.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 8 8^{br}, 1655.

f. 451.

I have your 5 instant and in confirmacion of the former opinion of Cromwells losse in the Indies finde many circumstances in their books of the number of their ships sayed to be left behinde and returned. You will finde in the books y^t Col. Buller ^a was to make a relacion of the busines to the Councell, after which I heare vpon good informacion that Cr. called the Collonells of the army and his Councell and therevpon committed Penn and Venables to the Tower. This is written from Newport,^b and therefore you may beleeve it. He writes that by the next he shall certainly write the agreement betwene Cr. and France. . . . Here is not any speech

^a Col. Anthony Buller, whose regiment was one of those employed in the expedition (Thurloe, iii. p. 12). His report was considered in Council on 2 Oct. (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 364). Nicholas misread the name as Butler (*ib.* and below, p. 82).

^b Nieupoort, the Dutch Ambassador in England.

at all of the alliance betweene Swede and Cr^{ll}, and the wisest here think Cr^{lls} insinuations to the Swedes minister signifie nothing but deceite and inducement of confidence for some selfe ends; and I beleeeve that, the King of Swede having a brother now vnmarried and Cr^{ll} a daughter, some frame designes of possibilyties out of fancy not fact, though Cr^{ll} may for many reasons desire the match and therefore its presumed he doth. But if the designe be for the Empire, its like not only the House of Austria but the princes will suspect the change, which for many reasons they must dislike. All the Papists and Calvinists and the Lutherans tryed the stomacks of the Swedes at their last beinge there, and it cannot be expected that France will very willingly see the Swede Emperour; and our newes here is that the Swede hath received a blowe, some say defeated, some that 3,000 horse are cutt of, but I heare not a certenty of it. I cannot see how the Poles cann desire Adolphus for their Kinge, that is of different religion, and if some doe, it must be by those of the religion and they are not numerous. And for my part I beleeeve Cr^{ll} may be willing to have the Swede his frinde, but will never trust him for his setling in the three kingdoms, for he cannot see how yet the Swede cann be vsefull to him but by abstinence. By what I heare here the Brandenburg having entred league with this state is not likely to comply much with the Swede; neither cann I discerne it for his interest, the Swede being too great a commander to have the dominion of the Baltike Sea, and the Brand. will have an vnquiett or at least a feeble estate soe neere him and soe obnoxious to him as the accession of such a power must make him, and it is doubtlesse the endeavour here to fasten Brand., as they have, and Denmarke, which they endeavour. The Suisses doubtlesse are not a body to beginn a warr, and being surrounded with severall States cannot well enter into a warr and seldom have, vnprovoked, and Cr^{lls} helpe is very remote from them, soe as they wilbe ruyned before that cann come, which must march overland through enemyes countryes. Its possible he would make his quarrell religion and

1655.

1655. soe be involved with the Protestant princes, who, though they give good words, will not easily engage; and if he have a peace with France, he cannot prosecute that designe nor will the Hugonot be permitted to ioyne with the Swisses. The books talke as if the peace with the Vaudois were too hastily concluded, and some say it will be broken; but its not likely to engage other states, and, if Cr^{ll} pay them their mony collected, they may purchase a new country and have their old vpon the bargaine. The bookes and letters speake of y^e seizing of the marchantes goodes in Spaine, and I wish it may prove true, and it wilbe very hard for Spaine to doe any thing without the Kings interest. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.^a

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

HONBLE S^r,

Bruxells, 11th Octob., 1655

f. 453.

This Inclosed^b came to my handes this day, which I chuse to send, because yow may be acquainted with all letters of that kind which come to me. Here is Maior Wood that was with Maior Gen. Massey, who tould me that Massey hath receaued a letter from Mr. Brookes [Sexby], dated at S^t Sebastiens in Spaine, which hath staid Masseys journey untill he heare farther. I did not know that Massey was acquainted with any thinge of that designe untill now that I spoke with Maior Wood, by whose speeches to me I beleiue he is acquainted with Mr. Brookes voyage into Spaine. I did not beleiue the Leuellers and Presbytercans would haue agreed. I perceaued by Mr. Brookes that they hoped the Papists would joine with them, but he seamed to hate the Presbitereans. I wish all agre not togeather against the right heire; they utter greate discontents, and the killinge Cromwell will little auaille, if in his

^a For the answer to this letter, 1st Oct., see *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 364.

^b See above, p. 73.

steade they set upp a Commonwealth, which is the greatest feare I haue. Wood saieth Mr. Broke is ready to retourne into these countries. This is all from your most humble and most faithfull seruant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 12 8^{bre}, 1655.

. . . . There is one lately come out of England Thursday last ; he says Cromwells army is in very ill termes with him and that men refuse to pay the taxes. If soe, wee may see some change, though I doubt the sequell of theis vapours ; they have ended heretofore in submissions. This man sayes that Venables is not comitted, beinge dangerously sieke and, as is conceived, cannot live much longer.^a I beleeeve the reason of Cromwells not seizing the merchantes goodes of Flanders is not out of any respect to leanges, but to the trade of England, which is reduced to very little, and the merchantes would hold this as long as they may and there must be tyme for them to draw off as well as for those of this side. I cannot heare of any such letter come from Cromwell to the States touching Swede, nor thinke there is any such, but I will enquire. And though Cr^{ll} be in great esteeme here, yet I beleeeve they love him not, for I heare that there is scarce a day passes but Niewport hath some complaint or other from his cuntrymen of their beinge taken or stoppt vnder pretenee of enemyes goodes or sereht, whereby their voyages are lost, soe as they beare his yoke with great reluctaney ; and the backwardnes of these to reconfirm the English company at Rotterdam doth much trouble them of England, the merchantes I meane, and they threaten a breach for it

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

^a He was committed to the Tower on 20 Sept. and an order given for his release on 30 Oct. (*Cal. St. Pap.* pp. 343, 402). He survived until 1687.

1655.

COL. R. WHITLEY.

Calais, $\frac{3}{4}$ Oct^r, 1655.

f. 459.

Sr,

I hope you haue receiued my last letter addressed as this is, about 8 dayes agoe; and y^t you will pardon y^e boldnesse you finde therein. By this you will see how great my desire is to give his Ma^{ty} a testimony of my obedience, in what capacity soeuer he shall please to command me. Y^e accompt comes from a juditious person and one y^t hath y^e oportunities of knowing much; but I hope to come much closer, if his Ma^{ty} will finde y^e way of enter-tyning y^e meanes, according to which I shall be able to moue, having seuerall necessary engines at worke; but *without oyle*, noe motion on that side.

Sr, I heare send you y^e transcript of a letter: "At present we are digesting y^e affront we have receiued in y^e Indyees and consulting how to reuenge it, it hauing wounded y^e reputation which we esteemed invulnerable and hath let y^e world see our swift career of fortune may receiue interruptions. Y^e great instruments of y^e miscarriage are in y^e Tower, reason of state instructing us to remone blame, as far as we can, from y^e Councell. Betwixt [this] and Christmas, 10,000 men are determined for a further prosecution of y^e great businesse; y^e commander in cheife, both by sea and land, to be Generall Monke, as it is believed amongst y^e great ones, though not yet particularly determined by y^e Councell. But a vigorous war is intended against y^e Spanyard, and therefore a close with France is suddenly expected, y^e English having as great desire of y^e house of Austria's ruine as they. And to y^t purpose y^e K. of Swede, Pr. of Transilvania, y^e Switzer, and all else y^t (they thinke) will take up y^t quarrell or be against y^e whore of Babylon, come into consideration. Looke not on this on Romants, for they haue bin reall counsells and are now neare putting into execution, unlesse a difficulty of carrying on y^e worke in y^e Indyees puts them upon new resolutions. It is now againe under a great debate for y^e alteration of their cheife Governors title; and

some beleine he will suddenly haue a new one (and y^t Emperor). 1655.
 Their occasions and wants of money are great, and (unlesse some
 By-way can speedily be found out) it is thought it will produce a
 Parlement, to consist of Lords and Commons; y^e Lords to be
 composed of such of y^e old complying nobility as will humble
 y^m selves to this way and of y^e seuerall Gouvernors of Counties,
 which are y^e principall men of y^e army. Cromwelle is fearefull of
 y^e Presbiterean party, although in my judgement much will not
 be attempted till y^e game be uery faire. Y^e Anabaptists would
 certainly mischeife him, were they in a capacity, but at present
 their cheifes are in prison and the rest cannot doe much hurt, but
 by their bawlings and splenatique pamphlets; and therein they
 do not spare him. His son Harry followes y^e fathers instructions
 punctually in Ireland, discountenancing y^t party and casheiring
 many of y^m. And soe will Lord Broghill and his new Councell in
 Scotland^a; and when those 2 backdoores are shut, he will handle
 them (as is thought) but harshly in England. The exchange
 newes was y^t y^e Plate-fleete is got into safe port, whilst Blague
 was victualling in Lisbon; but this is mention'd as report,
 without any great beleife. We are like to have noe more newes
 in printe, there being a late command from Cromwell and his
 Councell not to print any newes bookes whatsoever till further
 order." This is the summe of my friends letter, which came soe
 late hither by reason of y^e ill weather y^t I haue not time to make
 an addition.

Y^r most humble and most obedient seruant,
 R. W.

Endorsed by Nicholas, R. Whitley, first intelligence.

^a The Council for Scotland was finally settled at the end of July, 1655, consisting of Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, as President, Gen. Monck and seven others (*Cal. St. Pap.* pp. 108, 125, 152, 255, 260).

1655.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

f. 460.

. . . . The English marchands here and in Antwerp and other places of this country are very apprehensiuē of the seizure of their goods, but they are in hope that the States of Brabant and Flanders will oppose themselves ās to a breach of custome and priuiledg vnto any such resolution, how briske soeuer the resolutions in Spayne may bee, of which there is much talke and feare in these quarters.

Penn and Venables are still in prison, but it is thought that this last will bee shortly sett att liberty, because his opinion was alwayes that they should precisely follow the orders of Crom. concerning the place of their landing, which was to bee the same where S^r Fran. Drake putt his men on shoare within ten miles of the Citty of S^t Domingo. Penn on the contrary, finding, as hee thought, a uery conuenient place, some 30 miles farther of, and, either not knowing or not considering that betweene it and S. Domingo there were mountaines and uery rough and vnsafe passages, called a Counsell of Warr, which, finding Penn enclining to land in that place, the maior part, weary of lying on shipboard, went to his opinion, which Crom. pretends to haue beene the ruine of that expedition. Besides hee imputes vnto him, as to haue landed, so to haue returnd without order, nor will hee admitt of their plea of an inuincible necessity to haue subsisted there any longer. The letters from England mention that D. Alonso de Cardenas expected his letters of reuocation. If wee could see him on this side the sea, I should then bee confident of a rupture, for hee may haue such letters and yet things may peece againe. They haue had here a greate but shorte joy for the imaginary success of the King of Poland. They speake here of Blakes hauing beene in England incognito and of 14 shippes gonne to reinforce his fleete, with order to fight that of the Spaniards, of Crom. hauing gonne to see D. Alonso de Cardenas in prinate ; but you will beleue of them what

you please, for I will not warrant them. And so I kiss your hands and remaine, 1655.

Your Honors most humble seruant,
[H. DE VIC.]

Br: this 14th Octob: 1655.

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Sir H. de Vic.

PERCY CHURCH.

RIGHT HON^{ble}

Paris, this 15 of Octobr 1655.

. . . . That 5 or 600 Irishe designed for y^e Barbadoes forced f. 461.
theire seamen to bring them for Nantes is most true, but y^t they
are gone to y^e Duke of Yorkes Reg^t holds not, for they appeare to
bee most fryars, who with y^e rest are (as I heare) gone theire
seuerall wayes.

Your Honour tells mee of a victory that y^e Sweades haue gotten
in Poland, but y^e generall newes of this cittie is contrary, for its
sayed y^t the King of Polands army hath killed and defeated 15000
Sweades, one Generall taken, an other [killed?], and y^e King
himselke killed, if not fled, for hee was not then heard of . . .

This weeke brought mee only from London y^t the Spanishe
Ambassador daylie expects his reuocation, and sayes that theire
fleete hauing affronted Blake stood directly for the Indyes, who
hauing landed theire souldgiers they were to ioyn with y^e plate
fleete at Carthagena and so to returne home together. This ill
success of y^e Indian designe giues much trouble both to y^e mar-
chants and Cromwell, who upon y^e 7th n. st. at night ordered the
Common Councell to meete with a Committee of his Councell of
State. The occasion was certainly urgent, for they parted not till
2 or 3 in the morning. The souldgiers are unsatisfyed and haue
here a meeting of two out of euery reg^t, who, calling themselues y^e
Agitators of y^e Army, meet daylie and sitt very close. Tis feared
some proposalls are drawing up by them, which will not please y^e

1655. Protector. A new fleet is preparing, in which S^r Geo. Ascue and Monck are to goe, but tis thought y^t Monck will excuse him selfe. The Gouvernors of the seuerall countyes holds, but they are not yet sent to theirre governments. Penn and Venables continue still prisoners at the Tower. . . .

[PERCY CHURCH.]

I beseech your honour to let mee knowe whether y^e P. Elector visited his Mat^{ie} at Franfort or no, for it is here reported both pro and con.

Endorsed, M^r P. Ch.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hago, 15 8^{bre}, 1655.

- f. 463. I have yours of 12 instant,^a and first the Colonell that I intended (but it seemes not well appearing in my writinge) was Buller not Butler, and he was named in the print to have given an account of the action. It was my collection that his relacion was used as a prologue to what followed vpon Penn and Venables. I doubt not but the reason of their commitment is the salving of Cromwells reputacion and, though the wiser sort discern it, some wilbe satisfied by pageantry. However, I beleeeve he will not adventure on their lives, nor, I thinke, bring them to tryall, for that may more endanger him then helpe him, they being bold and heretofore forward and prosperous, and noe man suspects them of treachery. Besides, the officers will not like well to be questioned for their lives vpon a miscarryage of an action, where accidents haue soe great a part, and will thinke it their owne case. Whatever become of it, I beleeeve the marchants and other adventurers have lesse hope of a goulden Indies and trade then they had and beginn to see they may goe backward faster than they came on. Wee heare nothing of Blake and, though all agree of the seizure in Spaine,

^a See *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 364.

there is nothinge done in Flanders; the cause whereof may be because the Countrey is soe much opprest with warr and in such a wavering state that any interrupcion of trade would be troublesom and therefore they would have it arise from thother side. Besides, their bookes say the goodes are not sold in Spaine; yet the English marchants finde the losse of that trade, which was the most profitable of all that was left free out of Companyes. There is noe speech here of the Zeland shipp nor of the Turks in the Channell that I heare, and I doubt the truth of it.^a There is not a Camdens Eliz. in English to be gotten here, scarce in England, it being longe since printed, and I have not heard of another edition; but Sr C. C.^b hath one, which he will bring with him to Culen, where you may have the vse of it, for he told me on the occasion of your letter that he would carry it with him.

1655.

I doubt of the relacion of the arrest^c in Paris, though that Court have often trod on the popes toe and adventured contrary to his pretensions in ecclesiasticall causes, and, if it be soe, wee may conclude that the pope must submitt or is not much sett by in that State. I doe not beleeve that Cromwell hath written such a letter to the States, but I beleeve, if this designe goe forth, the wittes here wilbe enforced to take new Councells, for they see their commonwelth wilbe in great danger, if the commande of the Baltike sea be changed, and I beleeve there is yet nothing among them but apprehensions. Sr W^m Lower^d is now in this towne, having beene in England to

^a Nicholas had mentioned a rumour that a "great fleet of Turks" had come into the Channel, seized a Dutch ship, and alleged that the treaty with Blake allowed them the use of English sea-ports.

^b Probably Sir Charles Cotterell, Governor to the Duke of Gloucester (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 65).

^c An *arrêt* of the Parliament of Paris that the archbishopric there was vacant, and the king free to make a new archbishop (Nicholas, as above). It was aimed at De Retz, the cardinal-archbishop, who, having fled out of the country, claimed to administer his diocese by vicars-general.

^d The dramatist and formerly Royalist Lieut.-Governor of Wallingford (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.*) His cousin mentioned below was probably Thomas, only son of Sir Will. Lower, of Treventy, who died in 1615.

1655. complayne of iniury received here in a suite, and Cromwell hath written a letter to the States on his and his cosens behalfe, whome the suite concerns; but he sayes nothing of such indisposition of Cromwell, but hopes much of the effects of his letter, wherein I am not soe confident. If Cromwell have written any letter touching the Baltique busines, I shall endeavour to gett what may be had of it. I have seen his letter for S^r William Lower in latyne. The Spanish Amb^r is now sicke, but I am in good hope of accesse, when he shalbe recovered. The lady Cottrell was att sea and driven back and is now in towne. Knowing the wonted motions of the Spanish counsell, I cannot thinke the King wilbe suddenly invited into Flanders, and the diffidence that State may reasonably have of the Kings condition and funds to contribute to their advantage and the influence of the French designs will certainly much retard any such resolution, especially if there may be any future security from Cromwell. Though the observation be hard of the reasons of your owne remove, yet, if it be for such a cause, I hope it wilbe noe losse to you. Since my former, whereof you take notice, the generall voyce is that the Pol. is totally defeated and that kingdom in the power of the Swede. Wee heare not yet of the agreement betwene Cromwell and France, but truly, Sir, it would not be expected till now that Spain should declare for the Kinge, and I beleeve, if he should, it would not hasten the agreement betwene France and Cromwell. I heare the Co. of Swede^a hath writt a kinde letter lately to the Pr. Sophia and given hopes of the proceedings in the match. I heare the Q. hath the letter. I have noe thought att all of the ioyninge of the Protestants in a

^a Either for "Court" or "Count," in the latter case meaning Adolphus John, Count-Palatine of Zweibrück, brother of Charles X. of Sweden. His first wife died in 1653, and there seems to have been a project for his marriage with Sophia, who was afterwards Electress of Hanover (see above, p. 62, and *Archæologia*, xxxvii. p. 228). The Queen mentioned below was Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, her mother. She wrote to Nicholas concerning the match as early as 2 Oct., 1654 (Evelyn's *Diary*, ed. 1879, iv., p. 215).

warr for religion, especially the Brand[enburg], who, I am persuaded, is not soe fonde of the greatnes of Swede, having already payed deare vpon that account. Considering former passages, the complement was not strange from the Elector to the Kinge. The bookes now bring little newes. Cromwell sees that kinde of sport is not fitt for his Empire; it was good only to pull downe. There is a proclamation renewed against Cavaliers not to be chosen to places of trust; which to me lookès like the prologue to a parliament. . . . 1655.

Your honours humblest servant,
JOSEPH JANE.

CAPT. PETER MEWS.

HON^{ble} Sr,

. . . . There is very little in motion heere tending to our satisfaction; that only which may concerne vs is y^e embargo vpon y^e English merchants in Spayne, y^e report of which (according to y^e humour of the place) fills every man with hope y^t wishes our party any kindeness. That Blake is at Lisbon is acknowledged by their owne prophets, y^e pamphlets, but whither beaten thither by force or necessity is vncertayne. Heere is lately come to this towne one Thomas Peirce,^a who formerly served Nic. Armorer, who is fled out of England. Hee talks much of greate discontents in y^e Army, City and Country, and som letters thence write y^e same. I wish they doe not rather giue us their owne hopes then matter of fact, which is commonly the fault of our intelligence. There is nothing yet done agaynst y^e Clerks y^t are heere in prison, though they bee strongly guarded, and I cannot meete with any who can giue a rational judgement what y^e issue of their commitment is f. 465.

^a See an account of him in a letter to Thurloe, 26 Nov. (*Thurloe St. Pap.* iv. p. 206). He also went under the name of Proctor.

1655. like to bee.^a The Swede is strangly succesfull agaynst y^e Pole, and heere are divers goeing over into England to receiue commands for y^t service, in which it is thought by som Fleetwood, y^e Vice Rebelle of Ireland, will engage; yet som letters write y^t Cromwell intends to rayse a Guard of 6000, which y^t worthy weight shall command, 3000 of which are to be Swisses (say som), which his late cheates concerning Savoy hath engaged. But those are a greate way of, and I wish hee were without a guard untill they come. . . .

Your most devoted and most humble servant,

P. MEWS.

Hage, Oct. 15: 1655.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

f. 468. . . . It hath beene much doubted whither the like arrests and seizures which were made in Spayne upon all the English marchands goods and shippes shoulde bee likewise in this country, where it is pretended that it is against custome and their priuileges. Wherupon there hath beene a greate debate in the Counsell of State for some dayes upon that Kings order in it, but att length it was resolud in the affirmatiue and on Friday last the Archduke signd the decree; but which, for any thinge I doe heare, hath not yet beene putt into execution either here or att Antwerp, and in this last it is saide that the magistrates of that place, if prest upon them, doe meane to oppose it. I am also tolde for certaine that letters of Reuocation haue beene sent to Don Alonso de Cardenas, and that within a uery few dayes hee should take his leaue, if Cromwell doth not condescend to some proposals hee is to make to him. What are those proposalls, it is not yet saide, but I am told they

^a Van Ruyven and Van Messem (see above, p. 56, and *Thurloe St. Pap.* iv. p. 45). They were banished, the latter for life and the other for ten years (Letter of the Q. of Bohemia, 2 Nov., *Archæologia*, xxxvii. p. 236).

are such as it is beyond all apparence that they shoulde bee graunted, 1655.
 and therfore the Co. Fuensald. hath caused a parte of his house to
 bee made readie for his reception. The late great joy which was
 here hath beene but of little continuance, and is turned into as
 great sadnes, upon the comming of contrary newes to those wee
 had of the supposed defeate of the King of Sweden. How ill an
 aspect soeuer that busines may haue by reason of the greate intelli-
 gence, if not league, betweene that Kinge and Cromwell, and their
 joint designes against a party from whome wee have reason to
 expect some benefit, it may prooue of advantage vnto vs. For
 wheras, if the loss had beene on the side of the Suedes, Cromwell
 wold haue beene apparently driuen, for want of that propp, to a
 compliance with the Spaniards, who are now the braues, it is very
 likely that their success will make him more lusty and stout. And
 if wee are to hope any good from a generall peace, this disaster of
 the Poles will bee doubtless a greate furthering of it

Brux: 18 Octob. 1655.

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Sir H. de Vic.

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

HONBLE. Sr,

Bruxells, 18th Octob., 1655.

I hope there may some good follow uppon that happy rancounter f. 470.
 of His Ma^{ty}, the Quene of Swede and Piemontell.^a It was
 much spoken of in this towne before Hir Ma^{ty} departure by the
 Spanish officers, perhappes on purpose that Cromwell might heare
 of it. This world is so wicked that I am jealous of all actions, and
 yow know how kinde the States Generall and the States of Holland
 were to Lieut. Gen. Middleton in wordes, when their intentions were
 but to make a better peace with Cromwell, and I am assured the
 Spaniard is driuinge a cleare contrary interest to our Kinge in

^a See an account of the meeting "four leagues from Frankfort" on 3 Oct. in
Thurloe St. Pap. iv. p. 65.

1655. England, though perhappes he findes his designes will not succede without joininge with our Kinge, which God grant he may. His intentions will sone appeare, when Mr. Broke [Sexby] comes, or when he giues liberty of his portes to his Ma^{ty}. For the newes of England, I can tell yow little but what is common. I haue had very few letters of other businesse then my owne this two yeares, and since I was last at Collen that I perceaued my selfe not thought fit to be acquainted with any businesse, I declined all correspondence from England. Those that come from thence talke of greate discontents amongst all sortes of persons I send yow Mr. Ouertons last letter to me

Your most humble and most faithfull seruant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

It is reported here that an English shipp of Smirna laden with silkes to the valew of an hundred thowsand poundes is taken by the Spaniards, so as I hope there will be a warr betwene them.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 19 8^{br}, 1655.

- f. 471. I have your 15 and perceive they had the same newes of the Swedes being beaten as wee had at the Hage who wrote to you from Bruxells, which was after contradicted, and now its taken for granted y^t the Pol is totally defeated. Though the Dutch strive very much for peace, knowing how great an alteration warr will make in their government, yet I perceive not that they feare the Swede, whose strength is not great by sea, and I see noe reason that Cromwell should make them desperate, as doubtlesse they must be, of continuance in peace with him, if he shew himselfe against them in the Sound, for that thereby they who desire to hold faire with him will not be able to support themselves at home, but they must necessarily breake with him, and that ioyning against

them in their Baltique navigation is such an overture of dominion over them as they cannot beare, but must think vpon new counsell. And if they should stirr against Cromwell, which they will doe rather then see themselves soc tyed hand and foote, he may have a worse enemy of them then at first and sooner then he is willing; for, though he woulde have them moulder by degrees, yet he would not effect it by open violence, which such an act as the shutting them out of the Baltique sea must needs be esteemed, and though Cromwell wishes their trade and strength lesse, he would not have it vsed against himselfe till it be lesse. Wee heare noe more of the agreement betwene France and Cromwell, and I believe y^t Newport knowes very little of affaires and I wonder he writes matters befor hand vpon so little ground as appears afterward, but I cannot yet heare any thing of Cromwells ietter to the States. I cannot positively say that the Dutch refuse to reconfirme the English company att Rotterdam as they were there settled, but I beleeeve they doe, for the Commissioners are much discontented and talke of a breach, which I am confident Cromwell will not make; neither is he in a condition for it, but those Commissioners wish themselves gone and say they will not stay fortnight longer. They are very fearfull to stirr abroad by day, but take the evenyng, wondring the people should shew such dislike of them, though I have not heard of any abuse offred them, but thinke their owne apprehensions terrifie them. I shall (God willing) inquire further into it, but have noe hope to learne any thing from Skinner vlesse by another hand. Wee heare nothing further betwene the Sp. and English, but I finde here some talke among the Dutch that they are very gladd that Cromwell miscarryed in his Indian expedition and that rather then loose the Sound they must ioyne with the Spaniard. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

1655.

PERCY CHURCH.

RIGHT HONO^{ble},Paris, this 22th of Octo^{br}, 1655.

f. 474.

By yours of the 12th present his Ma^{tie} was to arriue y^t night or y^e next day at Colen, for whose safe and healthfull returne I most hartely reioyce.

My correspondent at London, beeing arriued but the euening y^t the letters came away, hath only write mee y^t they yet know not what to make of the Imbargo in Spaine, for Cromwell and his Councell would gladly haue it to pass without noyse, pretending that it is only the arresting of marchands goods for endeuoring to transport lingots (*sic*) of gold priuately out of Spaine, as wee should here to any that endeoured the like without due order.

Our Heptarchy or Gouvernors for the seuerall Counties I heare not of at present, The Marq^s of Arguile is newly come to London, but upon what tearmes or for what end I shall endeour to tell you by the next. The Printed Gazetts (*Mercurius Politicus* excepted) are prohibited. The noise of our new Fleete preparing here for y^e West Indyes doth increase daylie and so it will doe still, whether they intend any such thing or no.

That the Prince Elector to much neglected his Ma^{tie} troubles some, others not, as reflecting upon his former actions, and possibly present interest.^a

Mr Booth writes mee from Callis y^e 16 instant y^t the 14 Bodilow,^b Blakes Vice Ad^l, went through Douer Roads into the Downes with 4 or 5 fregetts and y^t the next morning Ad^l Blake followed with about 17 or 18 sayle more of his fleete, and its beleueed by many his reward will not bee inferior to Penns and Venables. Hee alsoe sayes y^t Penn and Venables had their chardge sent them upon y^e 14 current, which if it hitt right, they will bee iustly rewarded.

^a According to a letter of intelligence from Frankfort in the *Thurloc St. Pap.* iv. p. 88, the neglect was rather the other way, Charles having refused to visit his nephew at Heidelberg, and avoided him when he came to pay his respects at Frankfort.

^b Richard Badiley, Blake's second in command, with his flag on the "Andrew."

Generall Preston^a was buried the last night, and Sr Kellam Digby,^b as himselfe write[s], willbee here y^e next weeke. His employment, if any, I shall acquaint your Honour withall hereafter. The L^d of Bristolle, beeing commanded to take in a haulfe moone before Pauia, gott a certaine number of stout men to accompanie him, promising them 20 pistolls, which y^e paymaster (then a Collonel) of the Army promised his Lo^p to pay. The service beeing gallantly performed and y^e place taken (though with loss of haulfe his men), his Lo^p desired payement of y^e mony to y^e remayning souldiers; the Treasurer refused, saying hee had no mony, whereupon his Lo^p would haue borrowed it upon his one accompt. But receauing no satisfaction in order to promise his Lo^p desired to meete him with his sword, to which the other answered, "Presently," and so laying hands of his Lo^{ps} belt his Lo^p gaue him a sound box of the care, and thereupon the Mons^r seized his Lo^{ps} sword. This happening in Prince Thomasses ante chamber, the dispute was stoppt and by command of the Prince it went no farther and so the Mons^r, as I heare, came for France. . . .

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, from M^r Per. Ch[urch].

CAPTAIN PETER MEWS.

HONO^{ble} Sr,

Hage, Oct. 22, 1655.

. . . I haue since my last to you reed. a letter, dated 7^{ber} 24th, out of Scotland from M^r Bruce,^c in which hee complaynes of the base calme y^t busynes is there in, and y^t hee hath nothing to

f. 477.

^a Thomas Preston, late General of the Confederate forces in Ireland, created Viscount Tara in 1650. The date of his death has hitherto been uncertain (*Die. Nat. Biogr.*).

^b He had a pass to go beyond seas on 7 Sept. (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 597), where he was looked upon as an agent of Cromwell (see a letter of Nicholas, $\frac{7}{14}$ Mar. 1656, *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 209.)

^c See vol. ii. pp. 168, 188, 190.

1655. impart to mee suiteing either with his or my inclinations. Hee is desyrus to receiue somthing from mee which might keepe vp y^e spirits of our Freindes, to which I wish I had bin able to haue applyed so soveraigne a Cordiall as might put them past danger of faynting. What I could doe, I did not neglect; and particularly desyred him to reflect on this late jorney of *his Ma^{ties}* as designed to higher ends then those of *pleasure*, and y^t hee should see y^e effects of it in somthing worthy his hopes. This I thought proper to touch on, knowing how apt the Rebells are to instill that poysonous doctrine into our party y^t *his Ma^y* is only devoted to *his pleasure*, and how greedily it hath bin reed. by many, though I am confident y^t gentleman is none of y^t number. I acquainted him with our present hopes from *Spayne*,^a and y^e interest of y^t *King* in joyneing *with vs*. More then this I presumed not to know, and in doeing this I hope I haue [not] done amiss. The way I haue of communicateing with him is safe and free from danger and I shall (vnless countermanded by you) continue to giue him an account of such general things, haueing pressed him to giue me y^e particulars of such things as are there in agitation.

The prints say nothing of Blakes returne, but it is written both from Amsterdam and Rotterdam hither that hee is landed in England, but his fleete in greate disorder and very sickly, there dying 60 or 70 a day in it. It is most certayn y^t the monster is prepareing another fleete, but whither it is designed, or who is to command it, is not sayd. Som guess Monek; but I questyon whither hee will take so perfect a rebell and one so much his creature from an imployment of so neere a concernement to him as y^t hee is now in is. The busyness con[c]erning y^e company at Rotterdam is at a stand, the States moueing to haue y^e Act concerning Trade recalled and the busyness of y^e sea settled before they confirme theire former priuiledges, which is y^e thinge demanded by y^e company; and in this I thinke these States haue reason enough, for why should they confirme old priuiledges when theire trade is

^a "869," deciphered "Scotland" above, and so here, but corrected to "Spayne."

destroyd by a new Act? The success of y^e Swede invites many out of these parts to y^t service and divers are at this tyme posting for England to get commands. I shall desyre you present my service to my Ld. of Norwitch and Ld. Napier, and to beleieve y^t I am

Your most devoted,
P. M.

S^r W. Ballandine is newly come to this town.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 22 8^{br}, 1655.

I have your 19 instant^a and cannot yet vnderstand y^t there was such a letter written from Cromwell to the States touching the Swede as is signified to you, but its possible. Yet I thinke his letters are now of lesse value here then heretofore, for, if he be engaged in a warr with Spaine, they beleeeve they shalbe able to cope with him by sea on this side, and therefore I beleeeve he will not be very forward to quarrell with him, and I thinke they here feare not now his anger. . . . I heard of Mr. Oudarts match and welth by it, but not of her quality, only they say he much commends her vertues. I am in expectacion of the Amb^r recovery and consequently of accesse to him. There hath beene talke here theis three dayes, and this mornynge I had it from Mr. Vickford, that the English goodes are seized in Flanders and that the Amb^r Cardenas in England is commanded from Spayne to returne. I cann presume nothing what the Sp. will doe. His owne necessities wilbe his Councillors, in despight of all inclinations to the contrary; but I beleeeve he neede not make a base peace, for I beleeeve Cromwell will descend to him, and he must be very ill informed if he see not Cromwells present condition. For now they say Blake is returned and noe good conditions, soe as I am confident they are

^a See *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 374.

1655. much crestfallen that stooode soe high on the immutability of Cromwells fortune and now see a forreyne warr may ruyn him as well as he hath done others at home. I have heard of the second supply that Cromwell is sending for the Indies and some say its ready, but I heard not that it is yet gone; I wish it were. Cromwell hath renewed the order against printing of newes and the diurnalls of this weeke have of English affaires only that order, soe as henceforth they will hardly be worth readinge, nor the money for postage; for he findes they may have the same force now they had against the Kinge, and therefore he is putt in mynde now to suppresse them, there being matter to be written against his advantage, his fleetes returnyng both with such successe. Wee here have nothing of Cromwells guard of Swisses nor his cantonizing of the Kingdome. The latter may be likely, yet it hath some difficulties, why he should putt soe much power into any handes; for, if one fall from him, it may give him troble, and its a course that will not satisfie the people, which he much cares not for, yet is not willing to venture without successe. And if he should faile in the attempt, it will cast him vpon some desperate course, and, if he bring in a guard of Swisses, he infallibly looses his army and it cannot be done with out much noise, both for their raysinge and transportinge. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

RICHARD OVERTON TO SIR M. LANGDALE.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

f. 479. Before this I have given you an accompt of y^e receipt of yours with y^e originall therein. I thinke I shall send Robin^a to Brussells

^a At the top of the first page Langdale has written "Mr. Wildeman's man" (*Cf. Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 55). Major John Wildman, like Overton, was a leading Leveller.

within these 3 weeks. We begin to be a little afraid of Mr. Brooks [Sexby], for it is strange we have noe returne from him. If a few weeks produce noe newes of him, I must make inquiry after him. I have heard further in confirmation of y^t busines of the Jewes out of England; they are confederates with the Monster. Ye tydings about the Switzers my frinds send me word they have some reason to beleive it to be true. I shall next weeke have further newes about it; it is a busines worth the inquiry into. If you have any thing further about it, I pray let me have it, or any thing else y^t is considerable. I wish we were satisfied about Mr. Brooks busines, that we might not be thus in suspence about action. It hath been basely delatory and obstructive in all our resolutions, for we would gladly know an issue of y^t; but, blow the wind which way it will, assure your selfe Ile make good the obligation betwixt vs, and soe with my humble service rest

1655.

Your most affectionate & faithfull servant to command,

RIC. OVERTON.

Delf, Octobr 22, 1655.

Addressed: These to the verteous Lady Dame Flavia Langdale, one of the Religious in the English Monastary next the Barliamont Cloyster in Brussels, to be delivered to Sir Marmaduke Langdale.

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

HON^{ble} SIR,

Bruxells, Monday 25th Octob, 1655.

I receaved yours of the 19th of Octob., but can retourne yow only this letter inclosed. Newes here are so uncertaine that I know not what to write, but I much feare Cromwell and the Spaniard will clapp upp a base peace, which, though it will not be lastinge, yet the Spaniard will (in this dangerous time of his owne subiectes reuoltinge) imbrace. It is said the States of Flanders are come this day to acquainte the Archduke that, if they haue warres with England, they shall lose all there trade and then they can

f. 484.

1655. pay noe taxes. It is said Cromwell hath sent hither an enuoye, but I heare not what he hath brought. In most of my letters, and in conference with M^r Onerton, I tould him the delay that would be used in any treaty with these people M^r Broke [Sexby] is gone unto and the readiest way to make the English nation happy was a coniunction of English men and restoringe the kinge and the antient lawes. Other princes made use of our distractions only for there owne endes and the confusion of the English nation. If His Ma^{ty} approue of this way, I shall still continew my letters in that stile, to presse a conunction of the party with His Ma^{ty} and his freindes and to hasten some attempt before his freindes be cashiered ^a Cromwells army, which is in doinge euery day. Certainly M^r Brokes was sent far of, least he should undertake somethinge before these here had taken finall resolucion. Sir, this is all I haue to trouble you with all from

Your most humble and most faithfull seruant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 26 8^{br} 1655.

f. 485. I have your 22 and beleeeve there is an intelligence betwene Cromwell and Sweden and they have each their ends in it; but it cannot be for Cromwells interest to fall downeright vpon the Dutch till they be lower and himselfe in lesse neede of them, for certainly they will breake rather then loose the freedome of the Baltique sea. I heare not of any message sent to Cromwell for restitution, and, if they have, they know their answe; but this miscarriage of Cromwells fleetes make[s] all iudge his fortune declininge and the Dutch are much pleased with it, and, if Cromwell proceede in his

^a The endorsement by Nicholas runs: "Sir Mar. Langdale desires to know whether he shall presse a ioininge of the Levellers with his Majestie and his friends and to hasten some attempt before Cromwell shall have casheered the party."

Indian warr, he will not be very ready to helpe the Swede in shippinge and of that the Dutch are very sensible. I have enquired of all my acquaintance and I hear the difference touchinge the English Company att Rotterdam is for re-establishment as they were before the trobles, and the Dutch demande the takinge of (*sc. off*) the act of trade, if they grant the English that liberty, and I beleeeve there is not any further demand by the English. I heare that Skinner and thothers alledge that the act of trade was precedent to the peace and the reversall of it is a new thinge and they demand only what was formerly established. Thothers say, when it was established, the act of trade was not made. I am told certenly Skinner desires much to be recalled and is malignant to the Dutch and would make a breach if he could 1655.

I shall observe your advise and finde myselfe inclinable to it vpon my owne observation, being ever fearfull of the slipperynes of discourse, nature itselfe beinge communicative, and wee thinke that others should know that wee are not ignorant, and men are apt to thinke some reputacion to be in knowinge what others doe not, and, though it be only newes, it implyes somethinge of advantage above others and therefore wee easily slyde into that errour. But I have layed a watch vpon myselfe, as much as may be, and even in little things know there may be preiudice in publication from some men. Its reported here for certen the seizure of English goods proceeds in Brabant; they of Antwerp make some scruple vpon some old priviledges of tymely notice to remove betwene each nation in case of hostility. They say that Cardnes [Cardenas] hath his lodgings prepared at Bruxells, but is first to require the restitution of Jamiaca from Cromwell and satisfaction for the losses received, and that the States of the United Provinces should be caution for the performance, which its easy to see wilbe denied. But this looks to me like a pumping for peace and procuring of terms, soe as I think the Sp. would fayne draw on further treaty, and I am confident the Kinge will never be invited there till the peace be desperate. I heard that in the letters of marque which

1655. the Sp. hath granted it is recited that Cromwell hath dealt perfidiously with him and that is the ground of the letters, but I can affirme nothing certainly of it. I beleeve, if the Kinge were invited into Flanders, he might goe; for it will make the peace the further of, and if the Sp. should desert the Kinge after such an invitacion, it would be greater infamy. And when the Kinge was vpon the place he might better act his owne busines and prevent applications against him, especially if the Sp. have once declared for his interest

Your honours humblest servant,
JOSEPH JANE.

PERCY CHURCH.

RIGHT HO^{ble}, Paris, this 29th of Octobr, 1655.
f. 487. How the affayres lately went in England your Honor will find by the inclosed transcript of my letter thence, which possibly may not bee inferior to your other aduises of y^t weeke. And for the generall French newes your Honor will likewise find it in y^e written papers, and so I haue only to add y^t, the Court comming to towne upon Munday night last, our Queene went the next day to congratulate their Ma^{ties} arriual and in perticuler his Ma^{ty} reouerie, whose sickness, as the phisitions sayed, proceeded cheefly from his chastesty, a disease y^t seldome befalls Kings or Princes, especially when their court is in a flourishing condition. The Cardinall came to towne indisposed with the goute and, keeping since his chamber, admitts, as I heare, but of certeine visitors, as y^e King and Queene, and those lady-like in bed with his curtaines tyed up round the bed with gallants and ribons. Its alsoe spoken in the towne y^t his Ma^{ties} often and kind visitts to Manchini the Cardinalls neece may eare long make her a Queene, but of y^t time must tell us y^e truth.

That the Princess Royalls comming hether was much spoken of is most certaine, though now wee say its deferred till y^e spring.

The Prince Elector Palatine not visiting his Matie is generally thought here very strange, and the rather for y^e ceremoniall part, when hee might haue understood that y^e Queene his mother had the precedence giuen her both by his father and grandmother. 1655.

I perceauē by your Ho^{rs} not knowing whoe I ment by y^e two Protestant pillars y^t M^r Chancellor read not my letter, for then hee could haue told you they were two Benidicten moncks and brothers to the Ld. Faulkland, Secretarie of State, y^e elder of them ^a goeing as secretarie to Penn or Venables, in which voyage its sayed hee dyed, and the other brother, as I heare, liues but an vnhandsome rambling life, sometimes in Ireland and sometimes in England. This, I am confident, will satisfie your honour both of their persons and qualletyes; and, if needfull, a third may bee added, his name M^r Tho. Gage, the Apostata Fryar,^b whoe went the other secretarie in y^e late West Indya employment. . . .

Your most truly deuoted and humble servant,

[PERCY CHURCH].

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Per. Ch.

^a Patrick and Placidus, younger sons of Sir Henry Cary, first Viscount Falkland. The first was author of "Trivial Poems and Triolets," 1651, edited by Sir W. Scott in 1820; and Evelyn (*Diary*, ed. 1879, i. p. 117) speaks of him as "a witty young priest, who afterwards came over to our church." The account of him in the *Dict. Nat. Biogr.* leaves his end in obscurity.

^b A Dominican, who married and became in 1642 rector of Acrise, co. Kent. He died in the expedition, of which, according to Ludlow, he was said to have been "a principal adviser" (see Firth, *Memoirs of Edm. Ludlow*, i. p. 417).

1655.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},Hage, 29 8^{br}, 1655.

f. 489.

I have your 26^a and can give you very little in retorne, the effects of Cromwells restrictions beinge very evident in the penury of the prints.

. . . . I beleieve it was an hasty report taken vp of Cromwells letter to the States. Sr W^m Lower delivered them his letter, and they made an order of course to recommend his cause to speedy iustice, which is of little efficacy, all men here feelinge the decrease of his terrour by the Indian and Streightes disappointment. It comes from Flanders y^t Blake refuses to come in without the liberty of Penn and Venables, whose case may be his owne as he suspects; but I doubt the truth of this, seeinge their printes speake of his intentions for Chatham. Mr Oudart hath beene longe expected. What ever he be in his parts, yet he gettes his desires, and obsequious eye service is more effectuall then sufficiency or integrity. I know noe Englishman soe well provided for, but men are not sought after but must seeke and venture to goe without. I heare one thinge of this Sp. Amb^r, y^t he hath beene twice questioned for his actions in employments, once as a souldier and once as a statseman, and after both againe imployed, which (they say) is a rarity in the Spanish gouernment. As soone as I can gett any accesse, I shall offer to him what is most conduible for our interest, and I am not very doubtfull but the Sp., if he have a warr, will see the necessity of a vigourous declaracion for the Kinge, which will somewhat reflect on the Card^{ll} of France and gett him some ill opinion, if he crosse it or hinder the progresse. I beleieve Cromwell doth very vnwillingly give over the prosequucion of the Indian busines, and, consideringe the danger they were in that stayed behinde, its likely they would not remayne longe after, and his condition may make him close with the Sp., beinge soe hard sett

^a For this letter, $\frac{1}{2}$ Oct., see *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 384.

to it. I wrote my sence of it in my former, and the doubt I have of an agreement vpon the necessityes on both sides. I heare the Sp. have taken 2 English Streights prizes of very great value, and that they of Dunkirke having sett out men of warr have taken 14 shipps of Hull and Lynn and other English ports. Some say the shipps that were sent to supply Blake missed, and its thought are fallen into the hands of the Spaniard. Theis are merchants discourses, but I beleeeve rather supposed then warranted. For the seizinge in France, I heare not a word, and beleeeve France will not discend much in terms with Cromwell, vnlesse to have a very great bargaine in value for it. I sawe the edict^a of the Archduke in Flanders for the seizure, which was sent to Colen. The pennynge is observable, y^t he calls the English subiects of the crowne of England twice and charges the violacion of the peace as perfidious.

There is in the prints this weeke an order of the Councell of Scotland^b touchinge the ministers that pray for the Kinge. The end of it I cannot well discerne, for they take away the penalty for a very little tyme and I think without any purpose to lay it on againe or any thinge equivalent, but make the tyme short, as if some greater punishment would followe, when its likely they were doubtfull to execute what was formerly layed on, and they could not hope that this abolition would gaine any that their rigour could not, and I am willinge to beleeeve they doubt some troble and are not in soe good condition to drawe on new broyles. But there may be some circumstances that I know not on which the order is grounded, and y^t a little tyme will shew.

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

^a Issued by the Archduke Leopold, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, on 15 Oct. (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 61.)

^b See *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi. pt. ii. p. 893. The reasons for its issue are explained in a letter from Lord Broghill to Thurloe of 27 Sept. (p. 891.)

1655.

RICHARD OVERTON TO SIR M. LANGDALE.

DEARE S^r,Delf, 30 Octob^r, 1655.

f. 493.

I rec^d your affectionate letter dated the 18 Octob^r, for which I returne you thanks. I thinke within this 2 or 3 weekes I must send Robin to Brussells to enquire about M^r Brooks [Sexby]. My friends in England are all in feare of him, that he's dead, for not a line is come from him since the 30 of July, but I hope better. I thought by this post to [have] trobled you with a letter to be sent to Father Talbott^a the Irishman, but not knowing whether you know how or noe, I therefore have forborne. I pray doe me the favour to enquire how to send to him. He is with the Duke where he is; he is one of the chaplins of the Army. My reason of sending to him is to know whether they have heard any thing of M^r Brooks; if I cannot know it by letter, I must send Robin to them. I wish we were satisfyed once aboute his busines. Assure yourselfe, I faile you (*sic*) of those desires in your last letter. Although your parte lost some of their armes, yet I hope the greatest parte they provided are safe. We lost little or none. We are pritty well furnished, and, if this busines were at an issue, we might bethinke ourselves how to use them together.

Your humble servant,

R. O.

Endorsed by Sir M. Langdale, "M^r Overton's letter."

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

f. 494.

. . . Nothing more is donne here towards a breach with Cromwell then what you saw in my former, nor doe I see any disposition

^a Peter Talbot, the Jesuit, a brother of Col. Richard Talbot, afterwards Duke of Tyrconnel, and an active agent for the Royalists with Spain and Rome. He was made R. C. Archbishop of Dublin in 1669, and died in prison there in 1680.

in them to make further declarations till D. Alonso de Cardenas shall bee come away, of which wee doe heare no more then that hee had prest anew for his audience, but had not obtaind it, though some att Antwerp pretend to haue newes hee had had it and was upon his way to come hither. It is also saide, and not without some colour of reason, that, Cromwell hauing sent to the French Ambassador in London to signe the Treatie, the other excused himself from doinge it without new order, that which he had for it hauing beene limited to a certaine time, which was now expired. But I make accompt you haue better intelligence from those partes then wee. You heare how the old Princess Dowager of Orange is returnd, and how much made of by those of Amsterdam for having gotten the Elector of Brandenbourg to doe what they desird of him. How doe you thinke M^r Cromwell will looke upon this, both as it referrs to the Suedes and the howse of Nassau? You will see att last that hee that wold haue giuen the law to all others, and might haue donne it, will receive it of all. And so I kiss your hands and remaine,

Yo^r Ho^{rs} most humble servant,

Br[ussels], 1 Nouemb. 1655.

[H. DE VIC.]

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Sir H. de Vic.

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

HON^{ble} S^r,

Bruxells, 1th Nouemb., 1655.

If M^r Brooke [Sexby] were retourned into this countrey and that I could mete M^r Ouerton and him togeather and that M^r Ouerton would afore our metinge acquaintance M^r Brooke how far he hath proceeded with his Ma^{ty}, if upon that M^r Brooke will relate unto me that which M^r Ouerton promiseth, which is all the passage of affaires that haue bene treated with the Spaniardes, I shall then be both able to say somthinge to them and to acquaint his Ma^{ty}

f. 495.

1655. more fully in the interim. I do inculcate to M^r Onerton the absolute necessity of a compliance of the Kinges freindes with there party and the diligence Cromwell useth (as yow say) to cashiere them out of his army and ciuill power. I wonder at the reason M^r Brooke staies so long. Here are greate rumours that the Spanish ambassadour is comminge away and that a pacquet of letters are come from Spaine to Cullen and S^r Beniamin Wright is comminge with propositions. God grant good successe, but here are people that beleiue all will be composed betwene Cromwell and the Kinge of Spaine and that the ambassadour before he departes from England hath somthinge of secret to say to Cromwell, which I feare will introduce a peace. If these Leuellers could be perswaded to put some considerable port and part of there mony into the Kinges handes and joine with his freindes, it would be better for his Ma^{ty} then releinge upon the dilatory Spaniardes. I cannot say any of these are in the Leuellers power, but they pretende a greate deale more, which, if they will joine, they must make appeare before the Kinges freindes can stirr. I confesse I beleiue they talke more then they are able to performe; yet the Spanish ambassadour hath giuen a greate carактер of M^r Brookes and his power in Cromwells army. The Spaniard is so poore that I am afraid he will make peace, though he be satisfied it will not continewe. So rests

Your most humble and most faithfull servant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 2 9^{br}, 1655.

f. 497.

I have your 29 past.^a I finde the Dutch are very sensible of Cromwells designe vpon their trade and that, seeinge by the peace

^a For this letter, see *Cul. St. Pap.* p. 388.

he cannot directly fall on them in the voyages to the west, he will doe it by another hand in the east, which is more pernicious to the Dutch then that of the west, they thereby makinge other nations stand in need of them for many things that they cannot have but by them. And they beleeeve that there is a leauge between Swede and Cromwell, but have nothing of certenty; but they discerne that the Swedes power on the Sound and Eastland Sea must needs be heavy to them and will bringe on the end Cromwell aymes att and they here will labour to prevent. They have a fleete in readynes, but the wynter is noe season for y^t action, but they attend the springe, when they will certainly sett to sea. In my former I gave you what I had of the difficulty made touching the company att Rotterdam, wherein I heare noe more progresse. As soone as I learne any thing, you shall know it. I heare Skinner is crafty, but I cannot learne y^t he hath any affections to the Kings right, and beleeves he shall drawe as much profit by his present masters as by a change; and, though men may disguise their talke, yet such things as fall from him without necessity, as I have heard related, give me little hopes that he any way inclines to the Kinge, for he is forward to traduce the former goverment and vses malitious calumnyes. Wee have heard nothing certeyne of the stoppyng of the packett boate. I wrote you in my last what I thought vpon the reports of the Sp. Amb^{rs} commyng away from England. Some say now y^t he was denyed audience and soe is come away; others, that, being not set a tyme for audience, he came away and tooke the delay for a denyall. But there is noe certenty that I cann learne of any of this. I heare nothyng of the commynge away of those that were left at Jamayca, and all that makes me think they are still there, that none are returned from them in all this tyme, which could not have beene kept secrett if they were arrived att the Barbadoes. And, if they are come away, Cromwells losse wilbe much amplified, but I thiuk its much for his interest to keepe them there, that the people may support their hopes and have an expectation of a second tryall. And I beleeeve nothing but necessity could

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1655. cause the English to quitt the Island, and, though I am not positive in either side, yet I incline rather to the keepinge of it; but I shall not offer the dispute of it to any, and beleeeve there are very few that write newes who have any entercou[r]se with me. I somtymes talke with one that is very busy to little purpose, but, if he fill his letters with any thing he hath from me, I shall wish him good of it, for I am sure its what I would not have written my selfe, and for what concerns Colen its noe part of the matter. There is noe speech here of the 120 sayle. Its not to be doubted but Sp. will continue the slownes of their motions; and I beleeeve our forwardnes will not att all hasten their resolutions, but as yet I differ from some y^t would not have the king come att all into the Sp. do[*minions*] but treat and act at distance, which in my iudgment must make all slowe and suspitious. And for security of termes, unlesse the Sp. see it for his interest and that there may be obligations betwene princes, he will never be moved with any security that cann be given. And if he have Cromwell for his enemy, whether he will or noe, what can he expect from the Kinge, whose name and interest wilbe an assistance to him? And what ever he promise the Kinge is but in order to his owne defence. Some speake of the peace betwene France and Cromwell, but I thinke without grounde. I heare nothinge of the tynn busines,^a though I beleeeve such a busines, being in matter of trade, must needs be knownen among the marchants. I heare the passengers that went to goe by the packett boate returned, in regard they understood there was difficulty made in their passage I finde the States here prepare for jarrs (?), if the Sp. and Cr^{ll} fall out, for they finde they may not leave the Sp. to be devoured. I finde there is noe treaty on foote betwene France and the States. Its like now it cannot be longe till we beare of some thinge from y^e Sp. . . .

Your honours faithfull and humble servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

^a Nicholas had mentioned in his letter that most of the English tin and lead mines had been drowned by the rain.

JOHAN VAN REEDE, HEER VAN RENSWOUDE.

1655.

NOBLE SIR,

. . . . Wee doe apprehend very much the proceedings of the King of Sweden in Poland, and the more because wee beleeve hee is countenanced by Cromwell, and perhaps by France, the first to winne our trade in the east and by consequence in the west, and the other for the affaires in Germany against the House of Austria. Some of our blind men doe not onely now beleeve, but begin to see it; they feele it alsoo in theyr purses, because euery day complaints come in of the seuerall ships that of late haue been taken by the Englisch, insoomuch that those of Amsterdam yesterday haue written that it may bee noe longer tolerated. Whereupon a very serious letter is to bee written unto Cromwell and, as some did aduyse, with comminations. The Englisch merchants goods in Spaine and Flanders are all arrested, which my second sonne, now being at Madrid, doth confirme unto mee, and hath the Spanisch Ambass^r order to depart from London. Letters of Dantsick say that Cracow is not taken,^a and the King of Poland, hauing gotten some thousands of Tartars and prince Ratchevil to assistance, did stand and resist the Sweed. I beseech you not to reveale my name but unto his Ma^{ty}, for I knowe some to bee there that are not welle affected unto mee. And soe Ile continue, as I am, with much affection,

Noble Sir,

Your honors most humble servant,

JOHN REEDE.

Hage, this 2^d Novemb., 1655.

^a After defeating John Casimir of Poland at Czarnova on 6 Sept. Charles Gustavus proceeded to besiege Cracow, which capitulated on 8 Oct.

1655.

PERCY CHURCH.

RIGHT HONO^{ble},Paris, this 5th of No^{br}, 1655.

f. 502.

By yours of the 26th past I rec^d seuerall letters, which were all deliuered except y^t to M^r Samborne, who if in towne (as I thinck he is), your honours derections shall bee obeyed, and an answeere returned by y^e next accordingly. The beauor I valued at eighty liuers, the other for M^r Nicholas is a demi caster, but of the finest sort, which wee call Castor de Muscouie, and, as I find by experience, they weare much better then others, y^t 43 liuers and the leathern hatt case with chaine and padlock 7 liuers, in all 130^{li}; y^e other 6^{li} fine sols is particularly mentioned in y^e note. The 2 little bookes I bought for M^r Nicholas, hauing not then found the other of Mons^r de Bosses setting forth; nor indeed could I find it by the booke sellers, so malicious they are against him. As for the French weekly occurrences, I haue now spoken to haue them better write. Your Ho^{rs} former did mention y^e P[rince] E[lector] Pall[atine's] ciuilityes to his Ma^{tie}, and it hath bine no less deeryed here then it was by his cuntrymen at Francfort. The French haue made no stopp of Englishe shippes or goods at their ports, or is, as M^r Scott writes mee, the plate fleete yet arriued in Spaine. What ells relating to England your honor will find by my inclosed transcript, which I dare say imports y^e then condition of Cromwells affaires.

Upen Munday last after y^e Kings deuotions the Popes Nuntio had a long audience of his Ma^{tie}, who for a concludung answer told the Nuntio y^t hee remitted y^e time and place for treatie of the peace to his Holliness. After him the Venetian Am^{dr} had alsoe audience; his busines was to acquaint the King from his masters, y^t, if there were not suddenly a peace concludud and a supply giuen them, they could not long sustaine the warre against the Turke as formerly they had dune. The King, its sayed, replied y^t it should not rest upon him.

The newes of yesterday morning from the Army alarmed both

court and citie, for it brought y^t Quesnoy was besieged by y^e Spaniards, which then caused the King and Cardinalls immediat goeing from Chantilly to Compien and this night to S^t Quentin, so that now all the gallants hasten after his Mat^{ie}, and the Duke of Buckingham with the L^d Garrard are this day gone, as I am told. The Queene Regent with Monsieur are still in Paris. 1655.

Monsieur Vandaumes victories at sea against Don John d'Austria^a are generally sayed to bee great, but of y^t your honour may iudge by the inclosed, which this day I had from a marchant; and for y^e French army in Catalonia, it certainly hath had lately so great a shock y^t, if not suddenly releued, it must retreat to the frontiers for safety. Not hauing what ells to add, I conclude as beeing

Your Honors most reall and most humble servt,

[PERCY CHURCH.]

Quesnoy is now not beseeged nor the L^d Garrard parted; but it is expected y^t the Enemy will attempt something, beeing, as wee say, 25,000 strong.

Unsigned; endorsed, Mr Pe. Ch^{ch}.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 5 9^{bre}, 1655.

. . . . I delivered yours to Myn Here Somelsdike, who apprehends not any leauge betwene Cromwell and Swede, and beleeves that nothinge will come of the great treaty by the Popes mediation, in regard France thinks they cann gett more by warr then any treaty will bringe them. He shewed me your letter, and vpon the whole beleeves y^t Spain and Cromwell will patch vpp a peace, which is very likely. Both the Amb. for Spain heere and in England are very much disaffected to Cromwell and know not how to have any assurance from him. Wensday the French Amb^r went to the States Generall to take his leave and soe is gone. Mr Lovell is come out of England, and he reports that Cardenas was f. 504.

^a Defeated by Louis, Duc de Vendôme, before Barcelona, 29 Sept.

1655. gone, but I think he is still there, for, though some report he had sent away his goodes, others that they were landed at Dunkirke, yet nothing from thence comes of it. And its written from Antwerp that a gent. was set on shore by an English vessell neere Bilboa, who presently tooke post for the Court att Madrid and perhaps a dispatch from Cardenas for further orders, if the matter prove true. The stay of Cardenas soe long after the report of his commynge away makes me think it probable. There is a woman here whose husband sent her a letter from Jamayca, and, wishing her to come away, sayes there is great plenty and that they are very strong. The date of the letter I know not; perhaps it may be of an old date. The English Com^{rs} expect still to be recalled hence and stay very vnwillingly. I finde Mr Somelsdike knew little of y^t busines, nor is there any thing here of the agreement betwene France and Cromwell or of the articles sent, but its thought that Cromwell, continues the treaty with France till he see the successe with Spain. . . .

Your honors humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

CORNIFIX ULEFELDT.*

MONSIEUR,

- f. 506 Vous ne prendrez pas en mouuaise part que ie uous suis importun avec cette miene lettre, ueu que la necessité d'un affaire qui me touche de si pres m'y oblige. L'affaire est tel; que pour le grand desir que i'ay eu de rendre des bons offices et tres humbles seruices à Sa Maiesté le Roy Charles, Roy de la Grande Bretagne qui astheure (*sc.* à cette heure) regne, i'ay esté si malheureux que pour la negligence d'autrui, de quelqu'un des ministres de sa Maiesté, ie suis tombé en un grand inconuenient et ay esté blasmé

* See vol. ii. p. 73. An explanation of his dealings with Montrose for the supply of arms, etc., from Denmark is given by Sir W. Bellenden in a letter to Nicholas of 6 May, 1654 (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. p. 349).

sur mon honneur et sur ma réputation iusques à en estre taxé d'un larron et uoleur ensemble perfide, pour auoir esté rapporté de moy à la cour de Dennemark et à sa Maiesté mesme, que le subsidie d'armes et d'argent que sa Maiesté le Roy de Dennemark mon maistre m'auoit ordonné de faire liurer à sa Maiesté de la Grand Bretagne ou à ses Ministres à cela ordonné[s] i'aye frauduleusement priué sa Maiesté de la Grand Bretagne du dict subsidie et le dois auoir gardé pour mon propre profit comme un uoleur et larron, dont i'ay souffert une grande ignominie pour moy et toute (*sic*) ma famille et le souffres (*sic*) encores. Mesmes de la cour de Dennemark on a enuoyé à la Cour de Suède me faire accuser de ce delict pretendu, pour me rendre infame en publicq deuant tout le monde et cela à grand tort. Car denant Dieu et deuant les hommes ie suis tres innocent en cett affaire, comme il me la fallu en publicq en faire preuue deuant sa Maiesté alors regnante Roynie, la Christine, et deuant son senat du Royaume, la ou i'ay produit les preuues de mon innocense, si authentiques, qu'il n'y a rien à redire en cela, mais au contraire i'ay faict demonstration que, outre ce dont i'auois commission de mon Roy et maistre de faire liurer à sa Maiesté de la Grand Bretagne ou à celui qui seroit ordonné pour le receuoir, i'ay fourni et auancé pour le seruice de sa Maiesté de la Grande Bretagne de mon propre bien de douze mille cinq cent Rixdaler de ualeur, dont i'an ay quittance de la recente en forme deuue. Ce n'est-pas un signe que i'aye eu intention de defrauder sa Maiesté en rien, puis que ie n'ay pas espargné de fournir du mien propre tant de mille Rixd. uallant. I'ay des bons documens authentiques pour uerifier mon dire, des quels i'ay donné copie à Mons^r Villem Balandin^a, qui les à conferé luy mesmes avec les originaulx, et m'a promis de les faire tenir entre les mains de quelque Grand Ministre de sa Maiesté de la Grande Bretagne, afin que ce Ministre en peut informer le Roy de

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^a Sir William Bellenden, of Broughton, Royalist agent in Sweden (see vol. i. p. 150).

1655. cet affaire, ueu, à ce que ie comprends, il n'en auoit pas l'information deuue ; ce qui n'est pourtant pas ma faute, mais de celuy qui a traicté avec moy de la part du Roy et par sa commission, comme ie l'ay, par escrit de la propre main de sa Maiesté de la Grand Bretagne. Je ueux esperer que le[s] dietes copies soyent arriuées entre leur mains, mais ie n'en sens point encores aucun fruit, ueu que le blasma m'en demeure encores, non seulement en ma patrie, dont ie souffre assez, mais encores aupres d'autres nations estrangeres, et ie ne sçais à qui m'adresser pour pouuoir estre restitué du grand tort que ie reçois par là, car il n'est pas pourtant raisonnable que ie perde honneur et des biens, pour auoir en homme de bien et d'un coeur genereux serui à un grand Prince, lequel la fortune poursuiuoit. Alors c'est bien une maigre recompense et un tres mouuais exemple pour les auxtres qui s'engagent à seruir aux grands Princes, en quoy que ce soit, si cecy n'est remedié selon le deuoir. Je ne demande en cecy nulle faueur, mais simplement justice, et ie suis tres asseuré que Sa Maiesté de la Grande Bretagne, en estant bien informé de mon innocence, me fai[ra] iustice, car il est un Prince de probité et de pieté. Pourquoy, Monsieur Nicolass, ie uous prie de me faire cette amitié que d'en informer sa Maiesté le Roy de Grand Bretagne, et de faire en sorte que ie sorte de ce laberinthe, ueu que ie suis si innocent, et qu'on ne me face pas porter la peine pour la negligence d'autrui, que selon tout debuoir estoient obligez d'en informer leur maistre des issues des commissions qui leur auoient esté données et ce qu'y auoit esté conclû. Je sçais bien que sa Maiesté ne uoudra pas permettre que moy et toute ma noble famille soyent ruinez et diffamez d'honneur et des biens pour l'auoir seruy de tout mon possible en temps de besoin, ainsque sa Maiesté par justice et par droit y donne tel ordre que ie puisse estre releué de ce grand laberinte dans lequel ie suis tombé pour l'auoir serui avec tant d'affection et de bonne volonté. Je me ueux asseurer que, s'il uous plaist, comme uous l'estes aussi obligé pour l'interest de uostre maistre, de luy en donner bonne information du diet affaire, qu'il ne me refusera pas de me faire

justice. Je le demande en toute humilité; on me le doit de droit, et, Monsieur, votre prudence y pourra apporter tels remèdes qui sont convenables à ce désordre. Ne me refusez pas cette mienne pétition si juste. Vous sçavez avec quelle ferueur j'ay taché de servir sa Maesté le Roy de la Grande Bretagne d'heureuse mémoire. J'y ay pensé perdre la vie par la malice des temps d'alors. Il n'est pas raisonnable que, pour avoir continué la même bonne volonté à son fils, je perde l'honneur et biens pour récompense de mon service. J'ay écrit un petit mot de lettre à sa Maesté touchant cette matière, laquelle lettre est cy jointe; mais je ne fais pas relation grande de l'affaire, ains me remets à votre relation que luy ferez. Je vous prie de m'en obtenir une réponse de sa main, et s'il vous plaist de me rescrire ou de m'envoyer quelque lettre, il vous plaira de l'envoyer à Hambourg sous la couverture d'un marchand nommé Adolf Sontom; alors je le recevray sans faute. Monsieur, je me fie en votre probité, que ne dédaignerez pas de me faire ce plaisir que de m'assister en cette mienne cause juste. Je vous en demeureray redevable et en temps et lieu m'en ressentiray comme l'action de telle amitié le requiert. L'Eternel vous conserve.

Mons^r, votre très affecté serviteur,

CORNIFIS WLLFFELDT.

Rast, le 5 de Novemb. 1655.

P.S.—Monsieur, si vous desirez que je vous envoie authentiques copies des documents que j'ay pour vérifier mon innocence touchant cet affaire, je le feray. Vale; j'espère une réponse de vous, s'il vous plaist de m'en gratifier.

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SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

f. 510. HON^{ble} S^r,Bruxells, 8th November, 1655.

I haue herewith sent yow M^r Ouertons' letter^a; it is the last, I beleiue, I shall trouble yow withall, for I receaued yestarday a letter from Maior Wood at Antwerpe that saies M^r Brookes [Sexby] came thither on Saturday last, but whither he be there priuate or publique the letter doth not mention. I presume M^r Brooke hath sent for his commerade M^r Ouerton. If they send for me, I intende to goe to them; otherwaise I will not intrude my selfe into there counsells. I hope the Spaniard hath conuerted him to our kinges interest. If the letters that come from Cullen be true, his Ma^{ty} will be in these partes uery shortly. This inclosed forth of the gazeys of this towne is all I can giue yow of the Spanish Ambassadors comminge from England. Sir, this is all that I haue to send you from

Your most humble and most faithful seruant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

CORNELIS VAN AERSEN, HEER VAN SOMMELSDIJK.

MONSIEUR,

De la Haye, ce 8 de Novemb., 1655.

f. 513.

. . . . le vous remercie premierement de la vostre du 29 du mois passé, et pour satisfaire à son desir et à ce qui vous touche de plus pres ie vous aduertiray qu'il n'y a que quatre iours que l'Ambassadeur d'Espaignie m'asseura que la ferme intention du Roy son maistre estoit de rompre avec Cromweil, et que pour cest effect il avoit desia rappellé son Ambassadeur, lequel luy auoit mandé que, si on differoit encores à luy donner moyen de prendre son congé de bouche, il estoit resolu de le prendre par escript.

^a Probably the letter printed above, p. 102.

On apprendt aussi de tontes parts que le mesme roy faict rechercher et saisir rigoureusement en tous ces (*sc. ses*) pays les effects des Anglois. Et en suitte de cela ie ueux bien croyre qu'ayant esté sensiblement offensé il n'aye le desseing de s'en venger ; mais ie iuge pourtant que ce ne sera à bon escient que lors qu'il sera bien assuré de la paix avec la France, car il scait bien qu'il ne trouveroit son compte contre deux si puissants ennemis à la fois. Et d'aulture costé les aduantages que les Francois ont sur les Espaigniols, avec l'interest du Cardinal pour la continuation de la guerre, me font croyre que l'entremise du Pape pour l'accommodement de ces deux couronnes n'est pas encores preste pour si tost reussir, et iusques à ce temps là l'Espaigniol courra plus de risque d'estre mal mené, qu'il n'y aura d'apparance que Cromwel soit chastié, et encores que cependant les marchants Anglois et Hollandois soyent pour en beaucoup patir. Vous debues aussi scauoir qu'ils sont tellement accoustumés à la souffrance, qu'ils en ont presques le cœur tout failli.

Hyér on a receu des aduis si contraires, et pourtant de part et d'aulture si bien circonstantiés, sur les armes et exploicts du Roy de Suede, que certes ie ne scai auxquels il se fault tenir. Toutes fois si quelque coup du Ciel n'arreste se (*sc. ce*) foudre de la guerre, ie ne doute pas qu'il ne soit pour beaucoup incommoder, s'il ne ruine du tout, nostre maistre commerce de la Mer Baltique. Personne ne scait aussi au vray si ce Roy agist d'intelligence avec vostre Protecteur ; mais quant cela seroit, ie ne croy pas qu'il sera pour en tirer aucune assistance. Mais apres le Roy de Pouloignie celuy qui est le plus menacé par ceste guerre c'est l'Electeur de Brandeburch, parceque, quant bien nous obseruerions l'alliance que nous auons avecques luy de bonne foy, il ne se trouueroit pourtant les reins asses forts pour resister à vng si puissant ennemi. Bien loing d'auoir renoué quelque traicté avec la France, nonobstant les grandes auances qu'elle nous en a faictes, que son Ambassadeur desgousté de l'indifference a desia pris congé de cest Estat, et n'attant astense (*sc. à ce temps*) que le premier bon

1655. vent pour s'embarquer, sans qu'on seache encores qui luy doit succeder. Par ou ie iuge que la France à son tour se fera bien tirer l'oreille, auant que d'entendre a vng traicté. Je plains l'esclauage de vostre princesse, mais plus encores la mauuaise nourriture qu'elle lesse donner à son fils, puis que par icelle il se trouuerra plus exclus des haultes charges de ses Ancestres que par l'acte qu'on a donné à Cromwel, et tout cela parceque par la perfide direction de Heenulit il est esleué et gouuerné selon le playsir et la volonté de ses ennemis. . . .

Vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur,

C. D'AERSSSEN DE SOMMELSDYCK.

JOSEPH JANE.

f. 515. RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 9 9^{bre}, 1655.

I heare Sir Ed. Walker is gone for Colen, having had a longe desire to it, especially since his being at the Hage. I have alwayes conceived y^t he y^t encreased the Kings charge would not be very welcome, and, Mr Lane being sufficient for the employment, another would be a burden. Otherwise I should not have been silent for myselfe,^a but it seemes there is noe doubt made of his recepcion, and I beleewe his frinds there have given him an invitiacion and assurance, and I finde these men strive for their frinds, and, though others know well the merit of it, yet I see they prevayle. In this I confesse to reflect on myselfe, and, though I shall never intrude, yet I finde its observed by others that I am not lookt on as they that are esteemed to have as little pretence as myselfe, which is interpreted a defect in me or others opinion of me. Mr Lane went hence, as I formerly wrote, for Amsterdam, his wife not yet on her way by what I cann learne. Wee heere heare nothing of the Swedes going for Prussia, but the

^a Jane, as well as Sir Edward Walker and George Lane, was a Clerk of the Council.

Resident here produces a letter of newes that the Pole is totally defeated and fled with 100 men, but yet Craco not taken. Its confidently beleaved, especially by our court, where all the Swedes victoryes are welcome newes, though I conceive it conduces to our sufferings. 1655.

I am very confident that, as well as Cromwell is loved or feared here, yet rather then endanger their Eastland trade they will break with him, for its impossible to kepe the people quiett if that be curbed, for there is their bread. And, though I have observed their excessive addresses to him, yet I cannot beleieve they will ever admitt y^t losse, if they can helpe it. I cannot heare Cardenas is yet come over, which keepes me in doubt upon what I last writ you; yet I sawe it written y^t he was thrice denyed audience, and after he sent for leave to depart and had it, he was denyed a shipp to carry him over and therefore sent into Flanders for a vessell for his transportacion. Its written that they kill beastes in great number, which its thought must be for a new fleete. Lambert and Monke are tamer men that (*sc.* than) they have been esteemed, if they are soe easily transplanted from land to sea, from north to south, and they are not soe stupid as not to conceive the meanyng of it. I beleieve Venables and Penn will not be tryed; bu, if he soe proceede, he need be very strong, or at least he must thinke himselfe soe, and that noe man there hath an interest in any way able to hinder what he will have done. The peace with the El. of Brandenburge is very acceptable to this country, and they are concerned to make it good or els they are ruyned. Its said that Cromwell hath sayed that he will vindicate the honour of the English nation against the Spaniard if but one man stand with him. I heare of nothing now done by the Spaniard in order to vs, and the peace betweenc Cromwell and France hangs now on ceremonyes, as is reported. You have had noe letters from England this weeke. Its said here the Pr[incess] R[oyal] intends a iourney for France after her commyng home. . . .

Your humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

1655.

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

f. 518. HON^{ble} Sr,Bruxells, 11th Novemb. 1655.

Just now I came from Mr Brookes [Sexby] and Mr Ouertons lodginge, where we had two houres discourse, but so litle to my satisfaction that I can send yow noe other account then formerly I writ to yow, that I neuer found Mr Brookes inclinable to the kinges interest. I tould Mr Brooke I was made acquainted by Maior Wood that he was gone into Spaine, that thereupon I concluded he was gone to negotiate with the Spaniard of the readiest way to destroy Cromwell, that I was perswaded those propositions he propounded to the Spaniardes were the greatest inducements to the Spaniardes of this present warr that was likely to be betwene Cromwell and them, wherein I thought the kinge and his party were so usefull that it was impossible to be donne without them, and that our present kinge was so good and gracious that I was confident there was noe reasonable thinge could be desired that his Ma^{ty} would not grant. Mr Brookes confessed he had bene in Spaine, but would not relate any of his businesse there. Mr Brookes had some occasion to goe out of the chamber, and Mr Ouerton expressed himselfe frely to do his Ma^{ty} what seruice he could and tould me he would come to me when he had learned from him how he had sped in his negociacions in Spaine, whereof they as yet had noe particular relacion, Mr Ouerton beinge but come within this 3 houres to towne to met Mr Brookes. They both say I shall see them againe this night. God send Mr Brookes in a better humour; else I shall send yow litle of that I hoped for. The Ambassadors comminge from London is so various as I feare he is there at this time. Some talke from Mons. Barriers letters that he writ he had bene takinge his leaue of the Spanish Ambassadors, who was to come that night to Grenewich; and another dated from the Spanish Ambassadors house neuer mentions the Ambassadors comminge away. I

feare he is at London still. God send me a better account to 1655.
write unto yow.

From your most humble and most faithfull seruant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

Here hath bene with me this night M^r Brooke and M^r Ouerton;
but M^r Brooke saies, if they should but offer to joine with any of
the kinges party, it would ruine the designe. Longe discourses
we had, but I can giue yow noe hopes of good. What time may
bringe, I cannot tell.

PERCY CHURCH.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Paris, this 12 of No^{br} 1655. f. 520.

By your Honours of the 2d instant I find that myne from London
are generally approved, and therefore I am troubled when they
fayle as now. Nevertheless the party beeing gone out of towne for
some days drected a freind to send mee what hee in y^e meane time
could learne, which is as followeth:—

London, y^e $\frac{25 \text{ Octo}^{\text{br}}}{4 \text{ Nov}^{\text{r}}}$ 1655.

Mrs. Claypooles * death, which was generally reported and beleaved, is contradicted,
and shee now growes better and almost out of dainger. The Protector is hugely
buisy to raise moneyes, since the city seemes not [to] comply for the summe hee
desired, and certainly it will bee most difficult for him to fynd sufficient for all
designes. The peace with France was, as I heare, this day signed, but whether it bee
a ligue or an onerture only for traffick and commerce I yet know not.

The Spanish Am^{dor} can hane no audience nor so ample a pass to bee gone as hee
desiers, and hee is unwilling to leane what hee hath gott in this kingdome behind,
and wee as vnwilling to part with it; but y^t will not serue his tune, if his master
seriously press his returne.

This Kingdome is now cantonized into 9 provinces, the Lieu^{ts} Commissions beeing
now all sealed and none allowed to make deputies but Fleetwood and Lambert, who
are to attend the helme. The Act of banishing caualiers beeing now expired, they

* Elizabeth, Cromwell's second daughter, married to John Claypoole in 1646.
She did not die until 6 Aug, 1658.

1655. begin to creepe in to y^e towne. The Lady Shandishe ^a is married to Sir W^m Sidly, the Lord Banbery to y^e Lord Sherwoods sister,^b the faided Lady Norton, formerly wife to S^r Gregory Norton, to the Lord Kenmore^c a Scotchman, and the Earle of Manchester is sayed to bee in dainger of his life for hauing killed one of his servants."

Upon Munday last here arriued an express from the French Am^{dor} in England with y^e articles of peace, signed, as I am told, by 3 of Cromwells Councell and the Am^{dor}, which if approved, y^e king is to doe y^e same, and, it beeing returned, Cromwell. What the articles are wee yet know not, but y^e French discourse sayeth y^t they only relate to commerce and trafficke, y^e certainty whereof a little time will tell; if otherwise you haue it not from y^e L^d Jermyn.

Collonel Banfield^d came to this towne from England Saturday last; his business I can not otherwise learne then that a person who was with him tells me hee pretends it only to y^e Cardinall about some leuyes, but by the next its possible I may know more. S^r Kellam Digby is not yet come from London; but Mr. Whites alias Blackloes dammed booke dedicated to S^r Kellam Digby is, intitulated "Y^e grounds of obedience and gouer^t", and, if it bee not allready come to your court, I shall upon aduise send it to your Honour.

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Per. Chu.

^a Jane, daughter of John Savage, Earl Rivers, and widow of George Brydges, Lord Chandos. Her second husband Sir William Sidley, Bart., of Aylesford, Kent, died in 1656; and in 1659 she married George Pitt, of Strathfieldsaye.

^b Nicholas Knollys, Earl of Banbury, married, as his second wife, 4 Oct., 1655, Anne, daughter of William Sherard, Lord Sherard.

^c Robert Gordon, Viscount Kenmure, married Martha, widow of Sir Gregory Norton, the Regicide, 20 Oct., 1655.

^d Col. Joseph Bampfild (see vol. ii., p. 6, where he is wrongly called John). His real "business," as may plainly be seen in the *Thurloe State Papers*, was to act as a spy upon the Royalists.

HENRY BENNET.

1655.

S^r,

Paris, Novemb. 12, 1655.

f. 522.

My most humble thanks for yours of the 2^d. A greate conspiracy is lately discouerd here with the P. of Condé. The Gouvernours on y^e frontiers weare to begin it by opening their places to his troupes—Mons^r D'Oquin-court,^a Mons^r de Chaune and Mons^r de Mondejou, and many things weare to followe in this touné not yet discouerd. Mad. de Chatillon was beleעד the center of it all, soe as shee was arrested in her country howse and remoud from thence. Mons^r Le Tellier is at Roye treating with Mad. D'Oquin-court, who demandes a greate sum of money for her husband with a breuet of Duc and peere. Others are doing the same with Mons^r de Mondejou. In fine, euery body beleedes y^e Court will suffer only in its purse by this buisnesse, it being discouerd early. Just in y^e nicke the Courier brought the signing the peace in Englande and retiring of Barrière the Prince of Condé's agent from thence, which was noe smale ioy to y^e Court. At his R. H. returne, which I hope will now bee in a few daies, wee shall see what will be offerd him here, for 'tis likely Embassadors will presently come from Englande to have the kings signing, after which Cromwells is to follow. What is already done is only y^e hands of the three comissioners with y^e French Embassadors. . . .

Your most humble and most faithfull servant,

HENRY BENNETT.

^a Charles de Monchy, Marquis d'Hocquincourt and Marshal of France. At the instigation of Elizabeth de Montmorency, widow of Gaspard de Coligny, Duke of Châtillon, he offered to give up Ham and Péronne, of which he was Governor, to the Prince of Condé, but was bribed with 200,000 crowns to preserve them for the King. Soon after, he joined Condé, and was killed on 13 June, 1658, at Dunkirk.

LORD HATTON.

1655.

SIR,

Paris, $\frac{2}{12}$ Nou., 1655.

f. 523.

In earnest I highly prize your fauor of $\frac{16}{26}$ Octob., which represents to me such a goodnes as I need and argues you reserue a great measure of charity to pardon my silence, which I assure you I will not in the end abuse, and I hope the tyme drawes neere that I shall, not only by the continuance of my former seruice but by new opportunities, lett you see how deepe your frendship is ingrauen in my hart. What newes this place affords the good lord will let you know from this inclosed. I haue indeed heard that Sr Cha. Cot[terell] is to be surindentand of his Highnes person and affaires vnder the title of Secretary. He is a very worthy gent. and hath good frends. I grudge him them not, since I was not worthy of their fauors. And I think them very carefull of his Maties seruice, since they rather choose to be att charge to support able seruants then take weake ones, although they would be at charge to support the seruice. I think my selfe a great gainer, that am wiser by repulses. The end shall demonstrate my intentions and his Maties interrests. And I hope it will not be long ere it shall be visible to you, who shall euer be considered as the judge of my actions and corrector of my errors. I pray God the Dons proue not as lasche as other nations. The stage is now ready; they may enter when they please and shew vs what they entend to act. Sir, haue you euer heard that 30,000 lb. was paied by well affected in England for his Maties seruice within the space of some monthes before the last designe, or that one gent advanced within less then two yeares 5,000 lb. sterling? Much more belongs to itt, but I suppose our premier ministers know all and perhaps imploy it as advantageously as it is giuen loyally. It is thought my Lo. Duke of B[uckingham's] peace is made by the vissits he affords to Downings man heere left behind. There be many little petty affaires in our court which I

suppose the great ones there have weekly. I am in pains till I
lett you see how much I am, Sir, yours,

[SIMON SMITH.]

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Smith to me.

JOHAN VAN REEDE, HEER VAN RENSWOUDE.

Noble Sir,

I am sorrow I must make you knowen that the treaty between France and Cromwell is concluded; but this againe doth some-thinges confort mee, that Spaine is broken with him and that I am assured of a good hand that France is willing to treat with Spaine. The Spanisch Ambassador hauing desired some alterations in his passe for his departure was presently granted, but with this expression that Cromwell did expect hee should depart from London within foure dayes, a very proud answer, for which I hope hee'll suffer and all his adherents, to the restauration of his Matt. into his former honors and dignities. The King of Sweden hath by this subdued all Polonia, which wil ruine the Elector of Brandenburg and cause new troubles in Germany. Having no more at this time, Ile remaine,

f. 524.

Noble Sir,

Your most humble servant,

JOHN REEDE DE RENSWOUDE.

Hage, this $\frac{1}{2}$ Novemb. 1655.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

I received your 9 instant. I found 613 [Sommelsdijk] to be, as

Hage, 12 9^{bre}, 1655.

f. 525.

1655. alwayes, much French and in all counsellors anchors on that interest, and thereby I thinke he is somtymes not evenly poized. The prints of this weeke tell vs the peace is signed ^a betwene Cromwell and France. Whether the French gott their end by it or Cromwell vpon his Indian disaster clapt it vpp sooner then they expected, I vnderstand not, but beleewe, havinge suspended it soe longe, he would not give the French opportunity of drawinge back or mendinge their conditions. This peace with France may make an agreement more difficult with Spaine, for, if Cromwell will any way infest the house of Austria by open force or assistance, the peace with Spaine wilbe soone ended, and, if he doe not, France and Sweden will get little by his neutrality; but Cromwell is very successeful if he have lost nothing by this long deferring the peace with France till a blow befell him, which might have cost him worse conditions to gett a peace, if it be of vse to him. I am told by some that for certeyne the princes of Germany will not be engaged in a warr against Swede, and in particular Bavier, which I cannot guesse a reason for; but there are for the contrary, and I am yet perswaded that the Dutch will not be against the house of Austria, though the French be their old allyes, they now seeinge there is a necessity to support the Spaniards interest in Flanders, being a bulwarke betwene them and France on all occasions. And havinge made peace with Brandenburge, whose interest in the Sound will keepe him from advancinge the Swede, they will probably ioyne with the Emperour and German princes against an invadour; but this peace betwene France and Cromwell may disappoint the Popes negotiations for peace amonge the two kings and princes engaged.

I cannot beleewe they will keepe the Ambassador vpon pretence of the Embarg, for that is not an equal value and is obnoxious to reproach. I sawe a letter written from Antwerp y^t the Amb.

^a Signed by the Commissioners at Westminster, 3 Nov., new style (Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, vi. pt. ii. p. 121).

Cardenas is come from London, though not landed, and that all tends to warr. I heard that it was expected by the Company some weekes since that they should have a sumons for mony, and that some of them, to prevent that, went to demande the repayment of a former loane, which would prove but a weake barricade against Cromwells march. I beleeeve that Monke and the rest of his commanders know themselves vnable to make a party against Cromwell for themselves and dare not venture on the Kinges interest and therefore may be played like pawnes at chesse as he pleaseth ; and he is very well seene in the tempers of the people, who will hardly rise vnlesse vpon a sure game, and not to putt vpp such as they have already, nor a parliament of whome they have had experience. If you are forward, you may be assured the Spaniard wilbe slowe and will not stirr at soonest till he cann stay noe longer, but vnlesse wee are active, wee shalbe lyable to much excepcion. With vs I heard lately the merits of France much advanced in order to the Kings assistance and y^t there have beene assignacions of good value upon his penceion since his commyng away. You know how this stands. The Lord Percy was named to have had the assignacions. This is said as secrett ; I wish I knew the fact. Perhaps I shall have another occasion to heare it. I hope the peace with Cromwell will disappoint the iourny of the pr[incess]. The D. of Yorke cannot stay long there. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

HENRY BENNET.

SIR,

Paris, Novemb. 16, 1655.

The ratification of y^e treaty ^a is gone from hence, soe that the f. 533.

^a The treaty was ratified by Louis XIV. on 16 Nov. (*Cal. Cl. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 66). By a supplementary article the following twenty persons were to be kept out of France : Charles, the Dukes of York and Gloucester (the latter "after tenn yeares, if required"), Ormonde, Hyde, Lords Culpeper, Gerard, Wilmot (Rochester), Wentworth, and Balcarres, D. O'Neale, Sir M. Langdale, Sir E. Nicholas, Sir R. Grenville, Sir F. Dodington, Sir J. Berkeley, O'Sullivan Beare, Lieut.-Gen. Middleton "Lord Muskerry, the father," and Lieut.-Gen. Massey.

1655. matter is as avowdly out of doubt now as it was certaine many many months since betwixt themselues. Mr. Church sends you a catalogue of y^e exepted persons, which yet I cannot think a good one, because, one soliciting my lord of Bristols interests with the Cardinal, he told him his lordship was exepted, but that he would take care of him and give him to Mons^r de Modene or Mantone. What the particular articles of the agreement are wee haue not yet scene nor the declaration of the warre with Spaine; that for the taxing the Kings party^a is a terrible one and such a malice in it as will, I am afraide, at last rise to a general masacre of them, if God doe not prevent it by doeing some timely good for the King. Wee looke to heare the beginings of it by the Spaniards owning his interests. God grant it. Till then his H.^b does not thinke of proposing any thing for himself to y^e King. I am only sorry that after all this tryall wee can yet thinke the Cardinal a fitting person to advise with in things that soe nearly concerne vs His R. H. the Duke of Gloster may reasonably allowe me one weeke to reade his letter and at least another to answer it, which God knows how I shall bee able to doe, the Dukes Irish Regiment lying in Condé. I am euer, Sir,

Your most humble and most faithfull seruant,

HENRYE BENNETT.

Duc Francois^c is come ouer to this seruice with all y^e Lorraine rouples.

^a The tax was to be 10 per cent. yearly on real estate, and the same, or £100 total, per £1,500 personalty (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 21 Sept. 1655, p. 347).

^b The Duke of York, whose secretary Bennet was.

^c Francis, Duke of Lorraine, who succeeded on the abdication of his brother Charles in 1634. From jealousy of Condé he withdrew from the Spanish side and joined the French.

GEORGE LANE.

1655,

RIGHT HONO^{ble},

. . . I intend to goe to Bruxells on Thursday and on Sunday I hope to receiue your political advices, especially now that Don Alonso is certainly landed at Dunkirk and that Cromwell has playmed the warr with Spaine. If I can gett the cobby of his Declaration, I will transmitt it by the next. It is likewise advertised out of England that the French haue proposed the addition of seuerall articles to the peace before the ratification of it. Nick Armourer and the rest of the Comittee haue comanded me to present you their most humble service. I can assure you that since my coming hither they haue borne my charges and feasted me and many more yesterday in celebration of the Princesse and the Prince of Oranges birthday. My Lord Dillon, his lady, Lady Taffe, my cosen her faire daughter and bothe the M^{rs} Shawes^a weare of the company, besides diuers gentlemen. Wee weare all civilly merry, and I was forced to tripp about an Irish jigg. This was cruelty to force an ould fellow as I am to doe feates of actiuity, but I could not but obey. I hope your merriments there were noething inferiour upon this good occasion and y^t of the marryage.^b I wonder whether the lady continues her precedency as formerly. My most humble dutie to my noble lady mother and my humble service to my brethren and my cosen Warren. I am vnalterably and most affectionately,

Right Hono^{ble} and deere father,

Your most obedient son and humble servant,

GEO. LANE.

Antwerp, the 16 Nov., 1655.

^a Probably the wives of George and John Shaw, Royalist merchants at Antwerp.

^b From a letter of the Queen of Bohemia of 15 Nov. (*Archæologia*, xxxvii. p. 237) it appears that the marriage alluded to was that of "Mrs. Ramer and S^r Alexander" [Hume ?]

1655.

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

f. 537. HON^{ble} Sr,Bruxells, 16th Nouemb, 1655.

I can ad uery litle to that account which I sent yow last. Mr. Brookes [Sexby] staid in this towne but one whole day; the next he toke horse, either for the army to giue Fuentsaldagnia an account or to mete som of his commrades towards Dunkirque. He came alone to my chamber, I beleiue to haue some priuate discourse with me, but unfortunately met Mr. Ouerton there. He saieth he will se me againe within eight daies. Mr. Ouerton tells me that Mr. Brookes is much changed since his comminge from Spaine. He is uery peuish to Mr. Ouerton and will tell him uery litle. He suspectes father Talbot hath donne him some ill office. All he can get out of Mr. Brookes is that he hath had good successe in his negociacion in Spaine. There is one come alonge with Mr. Brookes who, as he saieth, he met in France, but I beleiue he came from Spaine with him about businesse and to be Mr. Brookes interpreter to those here. Both Mr. Ouerton and Brookes inquire most after Massey; they haue sent two letters for him. They speake to others, not to me, that Cromwell shall not liue longe. If they can get Cromwell killed, the Spanish Ambassadour will haue noe reason to leaue England and the Lenellers will put themselves into a Common wealth without much bloud. For my selfe, I am so weary with discoursinge with them that I can noe longer endure it with patience. Execept yow at court haue more hopes of them then they will confesse to me, they are not wourth the takinge notice of. Some say greate matters from hence will be donne for the kinge, but that yow must best know, so it were nedelesse for me to write it. If there be truth in men, there was a letter came from Spaine to the Court at Cullen, howeuer it be concealed from yow. The Spanish Ambassador is not yet come from England that I can learne. The Quene of Swede

is declared Roman Catholike. This is all that is come to the 1655.
knowledge of

Your most humble and most faithfull servant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

PERCY CHURCH.

RIGHT HON^{ble},

Paris, this 19 of No^{br} 1655.

f. 540.

I received yours of the 9th current, and in returne can only send a short transcript, my freind beeing returned to London but upon y^e writing day. That Don Alonso Cardenas is landed in Flanders wee haue by seuerall letters, as allsoe y^t the A[reh] Duke hath sent orders to the Admiralty of Dunckerke to giue commissions to theire sea captains to take and treate y^e Englishe as enymies of warre, Cromwell hauing by a manifest declared first the warre against y^e King of Spaine, the consequence whereof will I hope redowne to our masters aduantage, though y^e French, as tis beleueed, will henceforth withdraw theire anuall assistance from his Ma^{tie}. What will become of y^e Duke of York or his contribution my next may informe, in case it comes not from y^e Lord Jermyne and Sir Jo. Berkely, who yesterday went to meet his Highness at Compieu, where yet y^e King and Cardinall are, though tis sayed y^e Cardinall comes this night to Paris for a day or two, and then to returne to his Ma^{tie}, y^e business of y^e Governor of Peron beeing still in great disorder.

The Princess Royalls comming heather is now more hott then formerly, and her Highness expected betweene this and Christmas, which in this coniuncture of affaires is by some thought most straining. Your Honour tells mee y^t the behauior of the two brothers ^a was

^a See above, p. 99.

1655. no maruell in regard of theire witt; its true I haue not seene in my time the witts to thriue. Neuertheless Mr. Chancellour and Dr. Earles ^a esteemed them as no small pillars when they forsaked theire frock. . . .

The D. of Loraines ^b liberty in Spaine is generally confirmed, notwithstanding wee say that a wholl brygade of horse are lately come ouer to y^e French from D. Francis. I can yet giue no other account of *Bamfeild then that of ten visits* [to] *Lo. Jermyn and Sir Jo. Berkley*, the latter of which is sayed to be excepted by the meanes of his good freinds att your Court. The Duke of Yorke's departure out of this kingdome, if confirmed as in y^e articles, will bee much resented by y^e nation in generall, for they allready decry it as a most unwourthy act. The Englishe Court, its thought, will not remouue out of towne (howeuer desired by y^e Queene), though an ambassador should come from Cromwell. The doeing or not doeing of it is variously disputed, and therefore I shall not aduenture to judge, but referre all to time and her Ma^{ties} good pleasure.

Pray will your Honour let me know whether (as fame reports here) his Ma^{tie} intends shortly for Flanders, and what then must become of the D. of Yorke? Just now one is come to tell mee y^t y^e Cardinall is arriued at y^e Louure, but y^t the Duke of Yorke is still with his Ma^{tie} at Compieu. So not hauing what ells to add I most humbly remayne

Your honours most euer faithfull and most humble serv^t,

[PERCY CHURCH.]

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Per. Ch^{ch}.

^a John Earle, D.D., Chaplain and Clerk of the Closet to Charles II., Dean of Westminster, 1660, Bishop of Worcester, 1662, Bishop of Salisbury, 1663.

^b Charles, Duke of Lorraine, who had abdicated in 1634, and had been a prisoner in Spain since Feb., 1634. He was not released until 1659. See above, p. 126.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},Hage, 19 9^{bre} 1655

1655.

f. 543.

I have your 16 instant and beleeeve before this comes to you the partinge of the Sp. Ambassador from London and his landing att Dunkirque wilbe noe newes. The States here have Cromwells Declaracion * of the causes of his invasion of the Spaniards territoryes in the West Indies, but it is not in any private hands that I cann'learne, though I am told it wilbe spedily translated into Dutch. The substance, as I heare, is very triviall. Its strange that you should not have it at Colen, commyng out before the prints, for such things are not dangerous nor difficult to send. It wilbe very hard for Cromwell to come to an accommodacion with Spaine, though some here will have the commynge away of the Ambassador with a passe as a private man and not as Ambassador may signifie an eye to a returne, which I vnderstand not, for a new commission is as easily sent as a letter after such a rupture and departure.

Though Bavier may be at some distance with his old allyes, yet being a great votary to the clergy he cannot easily be inclined to suffer Poland to be taken from the papacy and a protestant Emperor, which the successe of Swede may produce and which Fr. will not soe readily advance, though they may vse the present diversion to their advantage and may need it, if your intelligence hold of their accident in Catalonia. I cannot determyne whether it be better y^t Spain and France should continue as they are or be made frinds, for they will never ioyne for the Kings good, and the helpe they will offer may be clogged with such conditions as destroy the effects of it, and I beleeeve by the means of the clergy will come to nothing. And wee well know that neither of those kings will doe any thing

* "A Declaration of his Highness, by advice of his Council, setting forth on behalf of this Commonwealth the justice of their cause against Spain" (Proc. of Council, 26 Oct., *Cal. St. Pap.*, p. 400). It was sent to the States by Nieupoort, the Dutch ambassador, on 3 Nov. (*Thurloe St. Pap.*, iv. p. 117).

1655. for the love of kinge or nation, affection being a weake motive in States; besides the advantage they have by continuing England embroyled, for though Cromwell at present give them some trouble, being both soe deeply engaged, the State there, being vnsetled and under an vsurpacion, will not continually ly soe much in their way as when it returnes to its right. And that makes me thinke y^t the Spaniards necessities must make him more our frinde then a reconciliacion cann make either or both of them. I beleeeve Mazarine loves not Kinge nor nation. It seemes assignacions there are on the pension, and that makes a great noyse of the favours the Kinge hath from France. I beleeeve its hightned to extremity, and though men see this peace betwene France and Cromwell, yet they still cast an eye on France as the deliverer, though there be noe colour of reason.

Its possible Cromwell may againe resort to the Court of Wards, though it will cause as much hatred to him as a tax, for it was one of the cheats putt on the people that they should be eased of ward-shippes, and the benefitt was amplified by all the aggravations of abuses that proceeded from y^t lawe, and y^t commyng on and all taxes contained, it wilbe very offensive. But y^t which gives me some cause to thinke it credible is a petition a while since presented to Cromwell to take the supreme government, and therein they shewed the necessitye of tenures whereby men were bound to the Sovereigne and that there might be some course taken to vnite those tenures to him againe. If he doe it and avoyde all compositions, he will doe more, but tyme will discover all. Penn is putt from the Admiralty as well as released of his imprisonment. The States here are sending an Amb^r for Spaine and, they say, for Swede. I am told from noe meane hand that Bever[n]ing^a and the rest of that side now heartily hate Cromwell, for they see that he is purchased at too deare a rate and cannot be kept for their

^a Jerome van Beverninck, formerly Dutch envoy to England. In March he was classed with Obdam as a friend of Cromwell (vol. ii. p. 216).

advantage, but what comes on the one hand is destroyed by thother, and while the house of Or[ange] is oppressed, they and their country may be ruyned. The cantonizing of the kingdom, whereof you wrote, is now come to passe, and I finde some of my opinion that it is not the best policy that ever he tooke. 1655.

I have entred into an acquaintance with the Sp. Amb. Secretaire, who hath offred me to see his lord when I will. I wish I had some thing of intelligence to impart to him, for, if I come empty, I shalbe of noe vse to them nor able to gett any thing from them. I desire something hereof in your ne[xt]. The Secretary acts all. I am fayne to make vse of badd Latyne and French to be vnderstood, for they venture not on English. I heare not any reason of the Fr. Amb^r. departure, but they say he desired to be recalled, having spent much tyme abroad and growing old. He desired the States that there Amb^r. in France might have instruccion to goe on with the treaty, for it might be sooner brought about that way then here by sending to the townes vpon every point

Your honours humblest serv^t,

JOSEPH JANE.

I have since seene the Declaration of Cromwell, which is very impertinent and flat. It wilbe sent you.

GEORGE LANE.

RIGHT HONO^{ble},

. . . . I haue had some discourse with Sir Hen. de Vie, who is in soe greate want that he cannot, as he sayes, follow the Court without a supply, but whither he hath done anything in order to the furnishing of himselfe heere or at Bergin apsome [Bergen-op-

f. 547.

1655. Zoom], where he was yesterday, I know not. He was pleased to vndervalue his owne endeauours in this busines now in agitation, and therevpon I conceiued I could doe noe less then intimate vnto him that his friends at Cologne had a very good opinion of him and were very well satisfied with his dexterous mannagement of those trusts which had been committed to him. And withal I told him that, as I very well knew the wants at Court were such as he could not possibly be supplyd in present, soe I was confident that, as soone as there was any mony, care would be taken for the supply and support of soe vsefull a minister as he was. Whereat he seemed to be well pleased and therevpon to expresse himselfe with the greater freedome in relation to the greate difficultyes he had to encounter in his present negotiation, but yet he seemed to hope for a good issue of them, if he might, as he said, be countenanced and not interrupted by vnskillfull interpositions. I presently apprehended his meaneing, haueing formerly heard of some rumours of the sending of some person to negotiate to Bruxells and particularly my lord Taaffe, but to this particular I thought not fitt to make any answer. I thought it my duty to giue you these advertisements that, in case any person be designed for that imployment, care may be taken to settle a good correspondence betweene him and Sir Henery. But I am confident there will be noe difficulty in effecting it, for I beleeeue he is soe wise and loyall a person that he will most willingly co-operate with any body his Matie shall think fitt to nominate. I should haue put some of this into cypher if I had tyme. You will be pleased to excuse me and to make vse of this hasty account as if it had been vnder that vayle . . .

Your most obedient son and humble servant,

GEO. LANE.

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

1655

HON^{ble} Sr,Bruxells, 22th Nouemb., 1655.

f. 551.

My intelligence is noe other then I heare at the ordinary, my condicion beinge so meane as will not cary me into such persons of qualities company as might affourd me such thinges as were wourth your notice; yet, since yow seame pleased with such as I haue, yow shall be pertaker of it. The Spanish Ambassadour came last night, beinge Sondag, to Fuentsaldagnias house in this towne, noe other house beinge prepared for him that I can learne of, which showes he intendes noe longe stay here. Its said he is here in the quality of the Kinge of Spaines Ambassadour to England and that the Marquesse of Bariere continewes in London in the quality of the Prince of Condees Resident and intendes not to depart thence. Here is a rumour that there are men of warr set out in Spaine to take English marchants, but, because I do not heare of the same donne at Dunkirke, I beleieve it not. Some say that one frigot is gone out with our Kinges commission, with promise from the officers at Dunkirke that, if he bringe in any English vessells, if they haue not orders to judge it prize, yet they will lay the im-barguo upon them. There are many in that towne prouidinge frigotts, hopinge to get commissions shortly.

Here is one Sir Thom. Rokeby come to this towne from London eight daies after the ambassadour departed London. He seames affectionate to our Kinges seruice and that he was much obliged to our Kinge for his release out of the Bastile.^a He speakes of cominge to Cullen, where he will acquainte his Ma^{ty} with some thinges of greate concerne, if he can make his wordes good by sufficient prooffe; but, because this is the seconde time that euer I saw him, I leaue him to his owne relacions. Only one of his

^a See vol. ii. p. 256. Hyde, on 14 Dec., mentions him as having lately come from England to the Prince de Condé, with whom he had long served (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 71). On 23 Jan., 1656, he sent to the King a plan for invading England with troops from Germany (*ib.* 88).

1635. discourses I thoughte fit to acquainte yow withall, because he seames extreame urgent in it and I beleiue it is his masterpece whereupon he comes to Cullen. He saith Cromwell is preparinge a very greate flete to goe into the West Indies against March or Aprill nexte. His opinion is that the Kinge of Spaine must by noe meanes entertaine any treaty with our Kinge for his cominge into these partes or takinge his quarrell untill that flete be gone, or else Cromwell will not send that flete. These [ideas] he is inculcatinge into President Violl^a and other his acquaintance here. He is now gone to visit the Spanish ambassadour, where he will tell the same. I retourned him very litle answer, with intent to let yow know that in my opinion it will be both destructive to the Spaniard and to our Kinge. If the Spaniard neglecte this winter in providinge some diuersion for Cromwell, the French with Cromwells assistance will infallibly cary this country next summer, if it reuolt not this winter, which perhappes might be preuented by our Kinges presence amongst them. This is the greatest aduantage Cromwell can haue, that nothinge be donue against him this winter, when most of his men of warr are un-seruiceable. If the Spaniard concurre in this opinion, it is in hope to pece with Cromwell againe, and the Ambassadour staies here untill his master be satisfied that Jamaica be restored. Perhappes he will not admit of our Kinge untill he se whither the Leuellers can kill Cromwell and so turne the Kingdome into a Commonwealth. I could wish the Spaniard toke more suddane resolucions of hauinge our Kinge iu this country, as the only meanes of reuenginge himselfe upon Cromwell. Here are letters from Cullen that giues me better hopes. They say our Kinge hath donne his part, whereof I make noe doubt, but yet I am confident the Pope is absolute commaunder of the Kinge of Spaines resolucions, both in respecte of the interest he will haue in the generall peace and, if the warr continewe, the assistance he will stand in

^a Pierre Viole, Président aux Enquêtes, a leading partizan of Condé (Memoires de P. Lenet, in Michaud's *Nouvelle Collection*, ii. p. 615).

nede of from the Pope for his warres in Italy. Besides, it is most probable he will do nothinge in England without the Pope, who is a busy and actiue Pope and one that hath an eye upon all the English affaires; but I doubt not of his Mat^y care of that place, therefore beg pardon for this digression. 1655.

This last weeke Duke Francis of Lorraine is gonne into France with all the Duke of Lorraines jewells and his army, which were about two thowsand men. His youngest sonne went on Friday night towards Hollande. This addes somethinge to the miseries this country suffers. Here is much discourse that Mareshal Hokink-court will at least declare against Cardinall Mazarin and for a generall peace, if not deliuer up the towne of Perone to the Spaniard, but I beleiue his demaundes are more then the Spaniard is able to disburse. S^r Thom. Rokeby hath bene, as he saieth, halfe an houre with the Spanish ambassadour, who, as he saieth, spoke frely unto him of our Kinges businesse; but it is a matter I neither understand nor will medle withall. I leaue him to his owne relacion, which he saieth he will send with this by

Your most humble and most faithfull seruant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

They say part of the Spanish plate flete is come home, the rest comminge, but I scarce beleiue it.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 23 9^{bre} 1655.

I have your 19. I beleeve the States here plainly see there wilbe a necessity for them to breake with Cromwell, if the warrs goe on betwene Spain and Cromwell and the leauge with France hold and Swede proceede, for they see greater necessityes vpon themselves then could be feared from the house of Orange. The Fr. Ambassador went hence Sunday by sea; he had a vessell and f. 533.

1655. convoy. I beleeeve, if the Swedes successe hold, the Dutch will seeke to gaine him; and perhaps it may not be vnfit for him to agree with them, for it cannot be hoped that he cane gett their trade or that ther ruyn can profit him. If he hope to make himselfe lord of them, he cannot hope to keepe frindshipp with Cromwell or the French, and the latter would rather have the trade in the Dutch then English. I wrote you in my last they are sending an Ambassador into Swede. Its reported that the Swede hath an animosity to the Dutch and that he hath sent to Brandenburg to quit them, which I cannot beleeeve, for it were a strange message that a prince should breake a leauge. It would prove very scandalous and would be a very great alarum on this people, who must then cry "Arme." I beleeeve Cromwell is not affectionate to the Swede, but would willinglie make his advantage of the diversion to finish his busines of the West Indies; but he would not have the Dutch come vnder the Swedes power.

What I wrote touching Sir E[dward] W[alker]'s commyng was on the supposition of an allowance, which if it be grauted to him and not to me, or if I never come neerer the place then I am, I have learned to be content; and, though I desire to preserve my selfe from wants, yet I never perswaded my selfe of any great security of the place nor of advantage by it, my age not promising great hopes from it, though in full possession, and I desired not to know the entry out of a conceite of suerty but to satisfie my selfe of the manner of doinge it. And truly, Sir, either that or any thing els, if it be thought troublesome to grant it me, I shall neither sue nor wish for it. I have not heard of those additionall articles by the French. If it be soe, they thinke they might have made a better bargayne vpon this accident of Jamaica. I heare the governor of Peronne hath not only offred y^e place to the Spaniards, but hath received eight hundred Spanish souldiers into his garrison; and its written that two important places more are treating with the Archduke vpon the same example. This wilbe written to Colen by him from whome I have it, and therefore

I desire it may not be said to come from me. If this should produce a peace betwene the Crownes, it would be never the better for us, to whome [neither] their inclinations nor interests doe carry them, and gallantry is short lived. I hartlie wish the Princess Royalls iourney for France may not hold, for I apprehend many inconveniencies of it. 1655.

I talked lately with one come from our country, who tells me Cromwells institution of his timariotts^a is that there shalbe troopes of horse in each county and those horses shalbe kept by a trooper to be in readynes vpon command and to receive eight pounds a yere for the keepinge of his horse, and to have pay when he is in service. Theis are the country troopes and to pay them there is 3 pence a day taken from the common trooper and these 3 pences of two troopes pay one troope of these new ones. This causes some repininge among the troopers. Cromwells Declaracion is translated into Dutch, but I heare nothing of any one from the Spaniard. I am sorry your ould frind the gowte deals soe severely with you, but hope its for your health. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

There are shippes returned from the Ilands with plate to the Spaniard of good value.

^a Timariot, a Turkish soldier possessing a *timar* or grant of land to be held on condition of military service. The allusion is to the "standing militia of horse in all counties," established for the reasons put forward in Cromwell's Declaration in Council, 31 Oct., for securing the peace of the commonwealth (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 405). See also Godwin, *Hist. of the Commonwealth*, iv. p. 236.

1655.

JOSEPH JANE.

Hage, 26 9^{br}, 1655.

f. 557.

RIGHT HO^{ble}

I have your 23^a and am very glad to finde the conclusion that your deare frinde the goute is vpon partinge for this tyme. Cromwells Declaracion is translated here into Dutch and dispersed very much as all novelties are, but though it might take with the people of ordinary capacitye who thinke every particuler iniury to a subiect a cause of warr to the State, yet y^t a statesman should take vpp such inferences as I heare some of the governours here have done and saye that he speaks reason I did not expect. Its plaine that his principall application is to the marchants, and they are apt to thinke that their private concernments must governe all States. What Cromwell objects against the Spaniard as to matter of right to the Indies may be returned easily vpon his subduinge not only England but Scotland and Ireland and expelling the inhabitants out of a great part of their country; but there is nothing here that cann be printed. It may be the Spanish Amb^r would be gladd such a thinge were done, but I shall not adventure without directions and therefore desire in your next I may receive what you wish to be done in it. I am not forward with them yet, not feelinge how they stand, and know they are wary and watch the temper of others that make applications to them, and I would putt as good a value as I cann vpon what wee contribute to them.

I beleeeve you will haue notice by this post that Capt. Lendall^b was treated with from the Ambassador touching his knowledge of an Irish Iland vpon an inducement that they would advance the Kings interest. His answeare, as-he told me, was that, if they declared for the Kinge, that he would not only informe them, but

^a For this letter see *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 31.

^b Described in a letter to Thurloe as "one of those who carried away the ships (1648), and who is now a great courtier" (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 243). In July, 1657, he was employed to kidnap Henry Crispe, of Quex, co. Kent, for the purpose of holding him to ransom (*Ib.* pp. 328, 341, *Cal. St. Pap.* pp. 80, 98, 105).

with his person assist them on the place. I beleeeve there may be more of this nature, and I may heare of them and therefore desire in your next you would fully instruct me for these overtures, and perhaps it might not be vnseasonable if the Kinge had notice of it. I beleeeve intelligence of all sorts would be welcome that they have not before hand, but chiefly of England, if wee have any more then the bookes bringe. I doubt not but the Kinge apprehends impediments in his busines with Spaine by the talke of the iourney of the Princesse and if they be not provided of some expedient to prevent it. However, the discourse of it must needs be attended with ill effects, and it must proccede from French counsell, that extend further then the meanyng of the actors. 1655.

I beleeeve you have all that wee have here touchinge France and Spaine, and it is now acknowledged that Peronne hath received 800 Spanish souldiers and that Bapame and Hams are declared with it, being vnder the same government; but to checke this Duke Fr[ancis] of Lorreyne is gone over to the French and is received into Landrecy. Some say here that Condé is besieged. I thinke its our interest that these two crownes continue poized, and [if] Cromwell hold with the French, the Spaniard must necessarily attempt somewhat. The States are very busy. I am told that Swede hath sent to Brandenburg to disband his army, breake his alliance with the States here, give vpp the two townes he hath in the Sound to Swede and hold Prussia as a feiffe of that Crowne. The author had it from one that read the Electors letter. I wrote you last somewhat of it, but now I beleeeve it, and I was told that the Elector is not in a case to deny any of it. If it be soe, there may be great changes suddenly followe. The prints of this weeke bringe very little. I sawe in a letter that the new Bassars^a have a power of death vpon the Cavaliers and banishment on any, and that there is now demanded of the Cavaliers a tenth of their estate.

Your honours humblest servant,
JOSEPH JANE.

^a Bashaws or Pashas, i.e. Cromwell's newly appointed Majors-General.

1655.

GEORGE LANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

f. 559.

. . . . Shee (*sc.* his wife) tells me that at Calais she received a letter from Paris assuring her that the King was to be shortly in the King of Spaines dominions and that the courtiers at the Palley Royall weare warned to remove out [of] it.

On Sunday last Sir Kenelme Digby landed and was much respected at Calais, and on Tewsday he went toward Paris. Shee sayes that Collonel Whitley told her that he had some discourse with him and that, speaking of his Ma^{ties} frends in England, he sayd that they should doe very well to keepe themselues quiett and that the present Gouernment in England would infalibly dissolue speedly of itselfe. Ye know best whether this discourse proceeded from any good affections in him to the Kings service. It is supposed that his employment to Paris is from Cromwell. The people in these partes seeme to long much for his Ma^{ties} coming amongst them and some sea captains haue deferred to goe to sea, as they say, vntill they may doe it by his Ma^{ties} comission. The pacquett boate is come, but the letters will not be giuen out till afternoone. I am in hast and can only say that I am

Your most obedient son and humble servant,

GEO. LANE.

Dunkerque, 28 Nov., 1655.

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

f. 561. HON^{ble} Sr,

Bruxells, 29th Nouemb, 1655.

I haue receaued yours of the 26th instant. I haue uery litle to retourne but that Sir Thom. Rokeby hath receaued a letter of the receipt of his. I am very confident Sir H. de Vic was mistaken in his relacion of commissions beinge giuen out to men of warr at Dunkirke; there are many that desire commissions, but cannot

haue them. Its said the Ambasadour [Cardenas] is about takinge 1655.
the house that was formerly the Prince of Oranges for 6 monthes;
one part of it is habitable, the rest is decaied. If the Ambassadour
can by any reasonable meanes, he will patch up a peace with
Cromwell. Here are many of the same minde; others thinke it
more safe and honorable to haue a warre because of Cromwells
infidelity. The gazet of this towne saith that Cromwells enuoye
is come to Madrid, and they hope an accomodement. We haue
here greate hopes from Cullen that his Ma^{ty} will be here suddenly,
which I could most heartily wishe, but cannot finde by the litle
acquaintance I haue any present hopes of it. . . .

Your most humble and most faithfull seruant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

I heare nothing of M^r Brookes. He is nere this towne secret,
but I know not where.

EARL OF NORWICH.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Antwerp, Nov. 30, 1655.

f. 564.

When I shall haue let you vnderstand that I arriued heere on
Satersday last, where I shalbe necessitated to stay till my ould
seruant L^t Bury (whoe is to goe into England for me) be returned
from the Hagh, where he is solliciting his passe, I shall then in few
words tell you that, if his Ma^{ty} comme not as *incognito* into these
parts, in case Sir Henry de Vic send him not an invitation (which
I feare he will hardly as yet procure), tis beleueed by such y^t wishe
him best he will loose an opportunity y^t will not be found soe easily
agayne. This much I dare confidently say, that his royall presence
shall effect more in a day then all his negotiators shall in twenty.
Few would belecue but that he was comme privatly when I cam.
But if his Ma^{ty} doe intend to comme, as I haue sayd, it must be
with a very smale select company, coniuring the rest not to follow

1655. him till he send for them. For I know where y^t of his Ma^{ties} soe great trayne was objected as a prime reason why he had not bin invited all this time; and this cam from one of the most intrusted persons in this court, it being then sayd withall y^t his Ma^{ty} might be sure of a beter pension heere then what he should loose in France by his comming hither. But in case his Ma^{ty} think this not fitt, it wilbe in my poore oppinion necessary y^t the Archduke and Count Fuensaldagne vnderstand what assurance his Ma^{ty} hath of his brother y^e Duke of Yorks comming to him with more then himselfe alone; in short time, what numbers of his good subiects besides will dayly flock to him from his 3 Kingdomes, and what abundance of seamen, euen to the ruin of Cromwells navy, when once they shall know his Ma^{ty} to be soe engaged with Spayne as to be in these parts neare the sea cost and ports open to receiue them and such shipping as the Hollanders, Zellanders, eto., will questionlesse send. These are y^e three mayne points the rulers heere most insist vppon, and that makes me soe particularly to mention them. And soe much for my boul.

Spayne doubtles at this instant is working to take away *Cromwells lief*, but they will first be sure of *the King*. *Brooke* [Sexby] is now at Bruxells, very busy, and giues out he was in *France*, but tis thought he was in *Spayne*. The truth whereof I shall soone learne and much more vppon y^t score, he bein in close treaty with the *Pr. of Condés* prime minister.^a The losse of the Duke Francois of Loraines army wilbe noe smale hasting of those heere to supply the sayd losse by *his Ma^{ties}* incommers. And this is as much, if not to much, as I haue for you at present. My duty to all my Lords, Mr. Chancellor and your good selfe.

From your owne and faythfull and all humble seruant.

148, s s
s

^a Probably Président Viole is meant (see p. 136.)

SIR E. NICHOLAS to THE EARL OF NORWICH.^a

1655.

3 December, 1655 N. S.

I easily believe what you say, that Spain is labouring to take away Cromwell's life, but I doubt much whether they desire to be first sure of the K. of England. I am afraid it will at length appear that Brookes is no better than 'an Agent of Cromwell, or at least no friend to the K's interest.

JOSEPH JANE.

f. 570.

RIGHT HO^{ble},Hage, 3 10^{br}, 1655.

I have your 30th past and still vnderstood Cromwells Declaration as you doe, that it only expresseth reasons of his attempt vpon Hispaniola, for there he sayes he is free to vse hostility, being denyed trade; and it could not be expected that Cromwell would have made a Declaracion of Warr in generall before he had in his sence cleered the busines of Hispaniola, for that was a particular and not involved with the rest, and he did not in that attempt make an vniuersall warr against the Spaniard. And though most of his reasons extend noe further then an Indian warr or beyound the Tropike, yet some doe, for he recites some iniuries received in other places out of America. I heare nothinge heere of any vnderhand negotiations betwene Cromwell and the Spaniard, though it may be suspected in regard of both their concernments. Some say here, and that its soe written to the court att Colen, that there is a very stronge possession of the state of Spaine that Cromwell hath a designe to ruyn them in the Indies and doubtlesse will, if he cann accomplish it; but wee may be sure that, if he finde the

^a From Dr. Birch's extracts, Add. MS. 4180, f. 132 (see vol. i. Preface).

1655. tyme not fitt and therefore will sitt downe for this tyme, the Spaniard wilbe contented and provide as well for himselfe as he cann against the next danger, for, if Cromwell will have peace, wee may be assured the Spaniard will consent. I am very confident as before the Spaniard will proceede slowly towards our kinge; he will give good words and revyle Cromwell, but I beleieve wee shall not see much more. The Spanish Ambassado^r hath visited the Pr[incess] R[oyal] and seemes very kinde to Rich^d En^g.^h as he talks with, but there is noe further progresse then for himselfe. I wrote you in my last touchinge any writinge on this subject^s. which I am sure is of very little signification att this tyme, and, though our condition be lowe, yet abundance of application may make lesse in their esteeme then wee are. The Island that was spoiled vs of to Captayne Lendall is called Enys-Buffyn,^a whereof I have heard heretofore that it is a very stronge place. If there be a thing intended by the Spaniard, I beleieve it wilbe that way, and he will thinke to trouble Cromwell and please vs in Ireland, where he presumes to finde proper frinds.

I thinke there is very little done in order to warr yet in Flanders, though I heare you have newes att Colen that there are very great preparacions made in Spaine and that it exceeded the expectation of those that knew their strength heretofore; but I finde they are such as would worke an opinion in vs both of their will and power to helpe. If the Spaniard be deluded, he cannot be pittied, and I beleieve its in such a vitall part as he wilbe very tender of a wound there. Certainly the puttinge of (sc. off) the D. of Y. must be iudged according to all the rules of religion and iustice a most vnworthy act, but theis acts of piety and honour are thought the cheats of fooles, there being nothing left but private interest. But why the Pr[incess] R[oyal] should goe there in

^a Innisboffin, or Ennisboffin, off the south coast of Mayo. A castle was built upon it by Cromwell for the protection of the fishery against the Dutch. A smaller island of the same name lies further north, off the coast of Donegal.

this coniuncture is to me the most vuseasonable that I have observed. The French, they say, have signed the peace and some say Cromwell begann to be angry it was soe long delayed. I am told that the El. of Br[andenbug] doth not disband his army, and it seemes he is very farr engaged. I should be gladd to heare Cromwells power abated, for, though he seeme streightned, yet he goes on without rubbs, and this busines on (*sic*) the Cavaliers makes noe more noyse then the rest, and the different parties that are against him make him strong, for he is confident the old sett of parliamenteers will keepe out the Cavalier and he will not trust them. I beleeve the business of Peronne will vanish. I beleeve on a continued goverment; this military division will not be safe to him, but it serves him for the present. I heare nothing of the busines of De Witt and Opdame, but beleeve they all growe weary of Cromwell. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 7 10bre, 1655.

f. 574.

I have your 3 instant.^a This weeke bringes vs nothing of news. Doleman^b is now in towne and, as I heare, talks of intelligence from Jamaica, that there is a great army and fleete still there and that there is noe truth of that which the Spanish Ambassador caused to be published. But vpon inquire I cannot finde that he hath any authority for the denyall, but is apt to advance all the atcheivements of Cromwell. There is a strange mixture of dispositions among ourselves, but it arises from the vneasines

^a For this letter, see *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 31.

^b Lieut.-Col. Thomas Doleman (see vol. ii. p. 1).

1655. wherein wee are and therefore wee thinke to gett advantage by mocion, though in the end wee returne where we formerly were or worse. Were not this the case, or some disaffections to persons in counsell, men could not beleeeve the Kinge could putt himselfe into the hands of strangers and make offers to them before he know what value they putt vpon him or what he cann doe, for states cannot be swayed by any importunity but that of their affaires, and to thinke that any other consideration hath ^{to} doe with them shewes little experience or knowledge of men. If the Kinge should goe there vninvited, the Spaniard hath an advantage, for, if he finde any defection from Cromwell vpon that act or commyng away of seamen, he hath gayned his end without any engagement to the Kinge and perhaps a peace, and then the King cannot complaine if deserted by him; and if not a peace, the Spaniard is still master of the conditions, and if there should happen any slownes to be discovered in England on the Spaniards part after the Kings commyng there, it may very much take of the edge of the feuds in England. I heare the ministers of Spaine here say that they expect nothing but warr, and it were a great weaknes in any of vs to thinke they would tell vs otherwise; but vntill they doe somewhat in order to the Kings reception I shall beleeeve they have an eye an[o]ther way. I doubt not but the warr betwene Spain and England must necessitate the States to ioyne with Spaine, and they talke of it already. I beleeeve nothing of the Envoye att Madrid; I thinke it arises out of that newes whereof I wrote you before Cardenas came away. I know not what to say of the applications vnto Spain by the Levellers. I rather incline to doubt then beleefe; and if Cromwell live till he dy by their hand, he may have many yeres yet to oppresse the kingdome. Its generally beleeeved here that there are noe commissions yet granted by the Spaniard against the English. I doe not beleeeve the Spaniard thinks on the death of Cromwell, neither cann wee presume that there may not be some other that, having once gott upp, will become as absolute a master as Cromwell now is.

I wrote you in my last of Cromwells Declaration touching the Cavaliers, which is very well penned and might be answered, but there is noe means to print any thinge, and that keepest me from meddling in that kinde, for here is noe favour by the publike. If the late alliance with France will admitt a leauge with Spaine, noe doubt but there wilbe much endeavour vsed for it, and Barriere may be the medium to salve the honour of both from being authors of the first mocion. There is a list here, which M^r Onele shewed me, of names that are to be excluded France and sayed to be delivered the D. of Y., which I cannot give credit to, for there is yourselfe, M^r Ch[ancellor] and he with many others, and I see not why Cromwell that named none to Holland should nowe to France

1655.

Your honours humblest servant,
JOSEPH JANE.

STATEMENTS OF H. MANNING.^a

(1.)

Eg. 2542,
f. 131.

Before my coming out of England, which was about this time 12 months, I neuer had word or sillable with Cromwell or any of his agents touching any matter of corespondencey whatsoever. Towards y^e later end of January, as I take itt, I came to Cologne; att my coming from London att a meeting att y^e Beare att Greenwich, where was Coll. Jennings, S^r Stephen Hawkins, Capt. Hen. Smith, to bring me goeing, there Coll. Jennings made a request vnto me, when I could come to Cologne, to make y^e King acquainted with y^e condition or state of Plimouth and y^e readiness of seuerall gentlemen thereabouts to assist with a good number of men in case his Ma^{tie} could gett or procure some forrein force to

^a Henry Manning, the spy (see Preface and vol. ii. p. 229). He was arrested at Cologne on 5 Dec. (*Thurloe St. Pap.* iv. p. 249).

1655. land there, which to my best remembrance was the sole and whole effect of y^e paper I then delivered to his Ma^{tie}. I also knew of my L^d Pembrokes money being received and where soe much of itt lay almost continually, as I mencioned in my paper, as also the horses with some of his seruants, as M^r Hall, which I mencion on discourse. And [Hall?] being priuie to my coming away, as also knoweing, or att least beleeuing in, ^{the} present execucion of y^e designe then afoot in England and we both being well assured of his Lo^{ps} brother Johns good affeccions, [we] designed that this money and horses should be seized att first, and clearely out of a regard which I then had to preserue my Lord and meritt from him I made that offer and upon noe score of my Lords.

Not long before my coming from England I had the misfortune of being arrested for some debts of my fathers and perticularly for a fee-farme of 390*l.* per annum, which I had vndertaken, y^e fee belonging to me, and which was much in arreare, soe y^t by a Chequer writt I was seized and carried to y^e Counter (where I mett M^r W^m Morgan y^t is now here prisoner). This and y^e rest (my estate being all lost) was y^e chiefe motiue of my coming ouer, without the least thought of any thing whatsoever y^t is now fallen vpon me. When I came to Cologne I vnluckily was robbed by y^e way, and, being there and a persone y^t had much suffered by y^e losse of my father, my owne blood and estate, I conceiued my self much neglected or att least not looked vpon. I went thence with Coll. Price some time before his Ma^{ties} departure, not knoweing any thing of itt, but in hopes y^t there would be some speedy accion in England for y^e King, and knowing I should make a good interest on my fathers score and mine in y^e west, I desired to speed thither. The truth was I wanted money or had gon. When I went to Dunkerque from Midleberghe, I wrott 2 letters into England, one to M^r Hawley and another to a seruant of my Lord of Pembroke named Betts, to M^r Betts for some money due to me and to assure him I would not be vnmindfull of what M^r Hall knew of touching my Lord, we being soe confident on other

scores y^t I for my part thought itt impossible the business should miscarry. I had M^r Betts answer, as also Hawleys with a cypher, some time after M^r Betts answer, and bill of exchange for 150^{li}; for mine to him was, if y^t Capt. Manley y^e Postmaster would, I would giue him intelligence what should occurre on this side y^e water or to whome he should direct me by what names soener, and desired him to engage on my behalf, which I did. Now I protest I knew not y^e persone of any man of y^m but Hawley, and y^e hopes of getting a liuelyhood made me doe this, y^e business being lost about Aprill, which was before euer I had either cypher or money, and my intencions being solely to delude them. 1655.

I wrott not aboue a letter or two till I saw Hawley att Antwerpe in May followeing. Then he gaue me this cypher I now wrott by and assured me he would soe order y^e matter with Thurloe or Manley y^t I should not want a considerable some, and away he went for England. I wrott to him by y^e names he gaue me seuerall letters from Antwerp, Holland and other places, as if they came [from], or I were att, Cologne, and soe did I this last time I was away, though I neuer knew any thing but what I mett on y^e Exchange or had in a letter or 2 or 3, I cannot tell which, which only concerned the Princes Royalls iourneys hither and some litle thinges of y^e Dukes sportes insignificant from M^r Griffith. Whateuer I stuffed my letters with were only fancies of my owne or such as I had from my Lord Andouir, Massey, Sir John Marlay, which I made as much vse of as I could contriue, to make them beleue I was att Cologne and to induce him to procure me a considerable some of money, which I euer aimed to gett into my hands; and I take God to witness I had no other end in y^e whole transaccions and neuer [intended] to alien my thoughts from his Ma^{ties} seruice. Att Antwerp I had a letter from Downing y^t went into Sauoy^a from France; y^e only substance of itt was to desire me,

* George Downing was sent to France at the end of July on the Vaudois business, and thence, in September, to Turin, but was recalled when he had gone as far as Geneva (*Thurloe St. Pap.* iv. p. 31).

1655. as from Hawley, to giue him notice if the King was sending any agent to Turine and with what number, y^t he might endeauoure to auoide them, which I did from Antwerp, telling him there was none. I came backe to Cologne about August; then I had seuerall letters from England, pressing me to be industrious in finding out y^e present designes both with England [and] Scotland, as also treaties with Spaine, and still assuring me a considerable some in hand if I would say money would doe itt; which I still persued and acquainted him with what I coniectured, or at least thought probable, y^t he might giue some credit to my letters and to induce him to speed the money, with other thinges y^t I att any tyme hinted att, [which] were only such as I had att ordinaries or tauernes, and those y^t I thought most proper to my purpose I vsed to incert. About 3 posts since I was earnestly pressed and assured againe 500^{li} or more, if I would be industrious. This gaue my occasion to write those letters now in custody, and I was y^e rather larger in stuffing them vp, being I intended them to be y^e last I euer would write, which before M^r Cottrell and, I thinke, M^r Griffith I declared, and sure I am, as I am a Christian, itt was my intencion realy. Therefore I vsed y^e more arguments y^t I would doe what might be to haue y^e money, which was my only aime.

I absolutely deny knowledge of any agent, either here or in France, Holland or any where else abroade, of Cromwells, and I neuer held any correspondency in England but this and 3 letters I wrott to a kinsman of mine y^t was att Douer, whilst I was att Antwerp, called Simon Manning, by y^e name of Watson, and to Coll. Jennings, which only was of hauing y^e prints and concerning some litle moneys he had to receiue for me. I setled att Antwerp a correspondency with Coll. Keynes, but neuer had but one letter from him, subscribed by y^e name of Charon. Some I haue had from my mother, my vnkle Manning, M^r Hawles of Sarum, and M^r Reade, which haue all related only to my owne perticular affaires. I deny euer attempting or intending y^e debauching of

any person whatsoever about y^e Court to learne intelligence; neither doe I know of any owne (*sc.* one), though questionless there may be, being I saw soe exact an accompt giuen of y^e Kinges journey to Franckford and some other thinges I neuer mencioned in any letter of mine. 1655.

In my last letter from Hawley, for I take all letters y^t come to me by y^e names of Manwaring or Isacke Gibbes and formerly by others, he sayeth they know of a very nere exeueion of a designe in England, which is intended about y^e beginning of January, which, to vse his very words, he sayeth, "more is knowne of itt here then Hide imagines." I alwaies vsed to giue him answers to such particulars as he vsed to mencion in his letters what I thought might be most taking and still vsed their language and soe as to any persones he named. If I knew more, I protest I would fathfully deliuer itt. If I haue forgott any thing, on colleceion of my memory I will relate itt; and for my corespondeneyes on this side the sea it hath neuer been but as common as any bodies, and I doe affirme neuer with any enemy of his Ma^{ties} or freind to Cromwell or any party in England to my knowledge. And this I humbly offer as what I can say in verity &c. what may be obiected against me, and, if any person proue any other corespondencies of mine on this side the sea with any such persones, probably some may say I haue said I haue had [letters] from seuerall other countries; I can not deny but I haue said soe, but from the botome of my heart I doe protest I neuer had any in any kind whatsoever but the letter I mencion from Downing.

Endorsed by Nicholas, R. 7^o Dec. 1655, st. no. This paper was delivered to my Lo. Lieutenant, Lo. Culpeper and myself by Mr Hen. Manning. Read this 10th of Dec. att the Boord.

(2.)

I haue heard one Collonell Francis Cooke hath been employed by Cromwell, as also one Mr W^m Jay and his brother, who haue f. 134.

1655. all serued y^e King and haue been often in France vpon seuerall occasions, which I haue heard my self in London by Coll. Rich, with whome I haue had some former dealinges about a concernment of my Lord Pembroke touching New Found Land. And when I haue been att y^e Comittees about this and other business, I haue seen one Maior Thomas often take out Coll. Goffe and others of y^e army into priuate conferences, which render him much suspected by me. Being also sometimes in conference with Coll. Ingoldesby about y^e aboue mencioned business, I haue heard amongst them that one brother of y^e Vernons was a conuert, but which I know not. These were continually conuersant with his Maties party. In one of my letters, not long after Coll. Worden went hence, I wrott that such a gentleman came a gallop from London hither ouer, as I heard, by y^e pacquett to Dunkirque and y^t he speeded as fast backe, but that there was no greate esteeme of him here, as not being thought ouer honest. The very wordes, as nere as I can remember, of his answer were, "For y^t gentleman, he is very well knowne here."

There is one Monsieur Hamon, a French man y^t lives in Couen Garden in London, a young man, who goeing with me to Paris last somer, hauing often seen me in London and falling into discourse with me, declared how many seuerall times he had rod y^t iourney in 6 monthes before. I noe sooner came back to London but I found him there suddeinly after, and then he told me y^t he had very many times been in y^e Palais Royall and had seuerall good acquaintences there, notwithstanding he was employed by Cromwell to y^t court and y^t of y^e King of France and I presume is there now. I haue heard many complaine of one Maior Bafkin. Sir Herbert Lunsford^a I haue heard well spoken of by many of theire party, and I haue also heard many say [he] had y^e liberty of White Hall with a double key, but cannot say much of him, touching whom I wrott in owne (*sc.* one) of my letters to Keye (?) One Capt. Lloyde, y^t vseth to be with him, a tall man

^a A brother of the better-known Sir Thomas Lunsford. He had a pass for France on 6 Mar. 1656 (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 579).

middle-aged, I haue heard also is employed ; this from Hawley. 1655.
 I remember in one of my letters I was told of one Mr. Manley att
 Mastrike ; if I should haue occasion to vse him, I might, but I
 take God to witness I neuer wrott sillable to him, neither did I
 euer desire an address from London. These are all, on my life, y^t
 I can thinke on or know.

If soe be I may haue but some kinde of intergatories drawne as to
 pointes of any intelligence giuen by me, y^e notice of which might
 be preiudiciall, I doe humbly assure the giuing of as fathfull an
 accompt and answers to them as I can possibly remember.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, R. 7^o Dec. Mr. Mannings paper sent me that evening after
 the Lords and myself had first examined him. Read this 10th of Dec. at the Boord.*

(3.)

I shall, if I may haue intergatories offered me and liberty of f. 136.
 pen and ink, giue y^e truth of whateuer intelligence y^t I haue euer
 writt, which I cannot do without, hauing alwaies wrott in hast and
 seldome most things y^t haue been only Kemeroes (*sc.* chimeras).

I neuer knew of any perticular designe here, neither euer did I
 writt of either England or Scotland but what my coniectures
 made me presume would take some root of beleef in England,
 whereby I might accomplish y^e some of money I mencion, where-
 with I take God to witness I intended to haue serued his Ma^{tie} in
 some condicion. And what I haue had, and of my owne also, I
 haue not been backward to assist therewith all such of my acquaint-
 ance as wanted, without any designe whatsoeuer, but fathfully to
 oblige them, being also of my stedfast resolucion of neuer writing
 more to this correspondent and my hopes of being in a good
 condicion suddainly by this meanes. Only sometimes I would
 incert some litle perticulars of some peoples sayings, which I hope
 haue not proued preiudiciall, for they haue not been a generall
 accompt of what I haue heard, and of y^e goeing and coming of some
 people.

1655.

I doe not know of any one persone y^t euer was apprehended by my letters in England. I doe confesse in all humbleness my mencioning some, but most comonly I had them from thence and soe, to keep vp with them, I haue been forced to say something, but neuer knew of any one y^t suffered in any measure by what I said. The list of names amongst my papers I had from thence, for I did desire itt, y^t I might see who were in prison, and I neuer made more vse of itt. In one letter I was desired to write if I knew any thing of one Coll. Talbotts being employed hence, to which I could make no other answer then y^t I knew nothing more then y^t he was one of my Lord of Ormonds officers in y^e king of Spaines seruice.

This [is] all y^e materiall thinges I can say, and did I know of any persone whatsoever abroade employed by Cromwell, any of his accomplices, or of any other party now in England, I protest before y^e Almighty God I would with ioy reueale them.

I doe also remember they are very inquisitiue after Coll. Bamfield and his proceedings in France, which I haue only said I heard was to raise a Regiment in England, pretending an interest in England, and y^t he would make his Ma^{tie} beleue he had the maine interest of y^e Presbiterian, but that the king had a very ill opinion of him.

In fine, I in all humility and pensiueness of heart doe protest in y^e presence of Almighty God I know noe other way then the continuinge of this intelligence by M^r Secretary (which I am very confident may be done non obstant all this business with me) to make any further discouery, and this I will with all candeness put M^r Secretarie in y^e way of doing; which had I done att 1st I should not haue doubted but would haue been imbraced. Which I did, I take my God to witness, att my 1st undertaking itt intend, but hauing not done itt I must most heartily craue my Sauours forgiveness and my souerignes most gracious and fauourable clemency; and could I say any title more to his gracious aduantage, from y^e mocions of my heart, whereof God is the only iudge, I would.

All which I humbly offer to his most excellent Ma^{ties} most gracious mercey. My crime herein I haue not y^e impudence to excuse, but humbly submitt my self att his Ma^{ties} feet, to deale with me as he shall thinke most meet, att which I will not repine. And if his Ma^{tie} out of his most Royall clemencey will vouchsafe to giue me a fauourable censure, I shall alwaies take itt as a new life giuen me, which shall euer be employed as fathfully and cordially as any mans liuing in his Ma^{ties} most iust cause; which I doe protest, if itt please Allmighty God, I will neuer relinquishe till death, and doe not doubt of Gods grace in doing something that may extenuate this crime, whereof I now lye vnder a iust accusacion, notwithstanding my heart hath neuer runn astray from y^e resolucion of dying as willingly in his Ma^{ties} cause as my father before me, though my accions for these monthes last part haue not been suitable.

Endorsed by Nicholas, R. 8^o Dec. 1655. Mr Mannings paper sent me this day. Read this 10th Dec. att the Boorde.

EXAMINACIONS OF MR. HEN. MANNING TAKEN AT COLOGNE BY
LORD CULPEPER AND MR. SECRETARIE NICHOLAS THE 8TH
OF DECEMBER, 1655, BY COMMAND OF HIS MA^{ty} SITTING IN
COUNCELL.

1. What^a letters haue you at any tyme sent into Englande, which you have received from other persons, to the end that ther handwritinge ther may be knowne? f. 141.
2. What haue you at any tyme writt concerninge M^r Halsy, and upon what aduerticement haue you writt?
3. What haue you writt concerninge a Scotts man who was

^a These interrogatories, except the last, which is by Nicholas, are in Hyde's hand. The answers are in the hand of Nicholas, with a fair copy by his son John.

1655. heare some moneths since, who serued Mr Halsy, and what conference had you with the sayd Scotts man duringe the tyme of his beinge heare ?

4. What did you write at any tyme into Englande concerninge Col. Phillipps or his wife ?

5. How did you come to know of his Ma^{ty}s purpose to goe into Zealande ? You were ther as soone as he.

6. What correspondence haue you had with Capt. Joh. Griffith, and what letters haue you at any tyme shewed to him, which you received from Englande or have sent thither ?

7. What made you mention Dr James Hyde in your letter, as if he were sent aboute any designe, and did you belieue any such thinge, and who informed you of his beinge gone into Englande ?

8. What advertisement haue you giuen of any persons who haue gone into Englande, and what grounde had you had for such aduertisement ?

9. Do you know one Mr Rosse ? * What haue you at any tyme written concerninge him ?

10. What haue you written concerninge any persons in Kent, and what grounde had you for those advertisements ?

11. What haue you written of Sr Jo[seph] Wagstaffe, and what haue you written concerninge any persons of Wiltshyre ?

12. What haue you written concerninge any designe upon Newcastle, and of any persons of the county of Northumberlande or the Bpp^{rick} of Durham ?

13. What haue you att any tyme written concerninge the Lord Dillan and of drawing the Irishe to the Kinges seruice ?

f. 138. 1. To the first he saith he neuer sent any letters into England, except that he intended to send of Maj^r General Masseys hand-writing.

2. To the 2^d he saith he hath mentioned the 2 Halseys and one Arnet (who was in Spaine with the younger Halsey) upon Mr

* This was the Thomas Ross, or Rowe, whose important cipher correspondence with Nicholas is calendared among the State Papers, 1655-1657.

W^m Hawleys enquiry to know what he knew of them, upon
Hawleys suspicion that they were in England and came over to
kill Cromwell, and thereupon this Examinat mentioned in the
intercepted letters that Rose saw one of them in London, and that
he was gon (as he thought) to Plymouth, and that he did beleue
that he that is in England was an Agent for the King; which he
said in answer of 2 or 3 of M^r Hawleys letters that advertised him
that they conceived him to be so, and did desire to know from
him where they were. 1655.

3. To the 3^d he deny's that he had any conference with the Scots
man mentioned in this Interrogatory, and for the rest referrs him-
selfe to his answer to the 2^d Interrogatory.

4. To the 4th he saith he did never write any thing into England
concerning Col. Phelips or his wife.

5. To the 5th he saith that he did not know of the Kings going
to Zealand or being there till he came to Middleburg and saw
S^r Jo. Mennes and others there, which gaue him suspicion of it,
and afterwards he saw his Mat^{ie}, as he remembers, about Rammekins
in a waggon, but knows not whether it were before he spake with
Col. Price or noe.

6. To the 6th he saith that the first time that he ever saw Capt.
John Griffith was at Antwerp about Aprill or May last, and that
he never shewed him any letter he received from England or sent
thither, but he hath gotten the said Captain to write severall times
superscriptions of letters to severall places and some to England.
Upon recolleccion of himself he saith that about the time that y^e
news came of M^r Harveys being imprisoned this Examinat shewed
y^e said Capt. Griffith a letter which he received from Coll. Jennings,
which mentioned that news, without telling him from whom it
came.

7. To the 7th he saith that he heard of D^r James Hydes being
for England att M^{ris} Phelips house, but he knows not whether it
were spoken by Col. Phelips or his wife, and that he had no other
reason to say D^r Hyde was gon upon a designe but that he heard

1655. Col. Phelips say to his wife, upon their speaking of his being drowned, "What do their designes concerne you?"

8. To the 8th he saith he writ to Col. Worden and referrs himselfe to what he hath set downe in his paper of the 7th of December marked G [No. 2 above, p. 153]; as also upon M^r Hawleys enquiry whether Col. Rogers were not come hither, this Examinat said he had been at Calais, as he heard, and returned, as he meant, into England, and for this he saith he had no other ground then common report. He further saith that, upon Hawleys enquiry whether one Rosse was not sent into England, and to what intent, he writ about July last that he did beleene he meant one Rose, servant to the E. of Rochester, whom this Examinat did presume was gon for England. He further saith he hath often named one M^r West, Jones, Weekes, Draper, Tanner, and some other names which he cannot remember, as persons sent for England, and he described the persons of some of them, whereas there were no such men in truth, but only names invented by this Examinat to amuse those in England, and to make them beleene that he was industrious.

9. To the 9th he saith he is not acquainted with M^r Rosse nor ever spake with him, but he saith he writ from Breda in May last that M^r Tho. Rosse, M^r Jo. Seymour, and M^r John Trelawney had been here as he had heard, which was in answer to a letter of M^r Hawleys, who desired to know whether they had been at Cologne. And he doth not certainly know whether he hath mentioned them once, twice or thrice since in June and July; but he saith he hath mentioned M^r Rosse oftner then either of the other, as having been more enquired after by M^r Hawley.

10. To the 10th he saith he remembers he writt about June last in answer to M^r Hawleys letter concerning Kent, wherein the said Hawly mentioned that he was of opinion that the Army kept the county of Kent in awe, otherwise it would not have been the last expected to be in armes, and, according as the said Hawley intimated to this Examinat, that y^e Lo. Tufton, S^r Tho. Peyton, S^r Tho. Palmer, Coll^t Thornhill, S^r Jo. Maney, and M^r Morton, and

some others, which he cannot remember, then prisoners, were certainly the men that must haue been the principall, in case they had stirred. This Examinat writ to Hawley that questionlesse these must be the men, but that this Examinat knew them not but by report and nothing of their designe. And further the said Hawley instanced mens names at Dover who gaue liberty to many to make escapes, which he said could hardly be then remedied, but that he said they should now give good security for their places before they enjoyed them; y^e persons instanced by Hawly were Forster, Day and a third man, whose name this Examinat remembers not. Whereupon this Examinat writt that their being imprisoned vexed them here, but that he did not heare that Forster was a prisoner. 1655.

11. To the 11th he saith that he only writt in one letter that Sr Jos. Wagstaff was come over, and in another that he was come to Cologne and gon back to Antwerp, and nothing else concerning him. And that being urged by Hawley to send notice what he knew touching y^e Marq^s of Hertford, whom he affirmed to be engaged, this Examinat answered that he could not give him any account of y^e said Marquis, but that he must learne it from their prisoners, and that he mentioned nothing of any other persons in Wilts.

12. To the 12th he saith he hath not writt any thing concerning any designe upon Newcastle, nor of any persons in y^e County of Northumberland or Bishoprick of Durham.

13. To y^e 13th he saith that he did within this moneth write to Mr Hawley that he did beleue that y^e Lo. Dillon, Mack-Thomas and one Fitzgerald did endeavour to draw the Irish from the service of the French King; and further saith that he did advertise the said Hawley that he beleueed the King would be farre more considerable in Flanders then the Prince of Condé, if the Spanyard should take in his Ma^{tys} interest.

1655. EXAMINATIONS OF MR. HENRY MANNING TAKEN THE 9TH OF
DECEMBER, 1655.

f. 154.

LETTER A.^a

I received yours, as well that of the 27th and 28th of Ap. as that by the post before. I am glad you are well. I pray let me haue a more speedy addresse then by Antwerp when you get to the King, of whose safety we are over joyed to heare. Sr G B. and the rest of your acquaintance are all well, the garison you wott of still in statu quo. I hope the King now[hath] experience of those that were the great Westerne Undertakers, especially Devon and Corn. Last night supped with Westmorland, who was that day at y^e Councell of warre. He assures me many of the prisoners haue most materially informed against the Marq^s of Hartford to be one engaged, for which we are very much troubled. One thing is that our poore friend Col. Penruddock was with him often, and one that was last time with him avers his knowledge of the busines and that in particular he discoursed with him of it. The mans name is Harwood, who on that is reuired. Mack hath done mischief to that purpose, and the countrys affections appeares every where in the prisoners tryalls, for they can hardly find Jurys that will comdemne any. I am still free to be disposed of by the King, my interest the same. I languish to heare of you, on whom I soly depend. The last weeke I gaue you the names Westmorland shewed me in a black list and assured me of the rigorous prosecucion against those in particular. God preserue you all, for you haue a good cause, which I question not the successe of, God being just.

Copy, by John Nicholas.

f. 143. A 1. From whom and to whom was the letter written which is transcribed with your owne hand marked A?

2. Who is Sr G. B. mentioned in the said letter?
3. Who is Westmerland mentioned in the said letter?
4. Who is that Harwood mentioned in the said letter?
5. Who is Mack mentioned in the said letter?
6. What is the black list mentioned in the said letter?

^a The intercepted letters, interrogatories and answers are separated in the MS but for convenience they are here brought together in each case.

To the first he saith to the letter marked A that it was written to this examine by Col. Cha. Jennings and received in May last. 1655.
f. 145.

To the 2^d he saith that [by] S^r G. B. is meant S^r Geo. Blunt.

To y^e 3^d he saith that Westmerland is an officer in Cromwells Army and he thinkes a Collonel.

To y^e 4th he saith he doth not know who Horwood (*sic*) is.

To the 5th he saith that Mack is an apothecary in Salisbury.

To the 6th he saith that the black liste was a note of 14 or 15 names which Col. Jennings sent to this Examine, as persons for whom there was strict search intended by y^e Councell of warre, a copy of which list he gaue to M^r Heath at Breda about June last.

LETTER B.

f. 155.

I received your letters of the 27th and 28th Apr. and also that by the post before, and find in both something that I do not well understand, especially as to names. In the first letter you mencion some lawyers, but I cannot pick out their names, supposing the characters mistaken; and therefore name the persons againe and labour to understand the names of as many as you can of those who were engaged and the meanes by which it will appeare that they were so. You do not mencion the Marq^s of Hartford, and yet he was certainly engaged; I pray be industrious to finde the bottome of the last designe, both as to persons and things, and also what they are further doing. You shall not faile of bills, nor to finde helpe as good as my word. I say againe, endeavour to discover persons and write me what the grounds are that make you beleue that those which you have mencioned or shall mencion were engaged. You will by this service, if don effectually, meritt very much and make to your selfe and posterity a great fortune, and so much I do promise you.

Copy, by John Nicholas.

- B. 1. To whom and from whom is the letter marked B? f. 143.
2. What was the effect of those letters dated 27th and 28 April?
3. What names and what lawyers were those that are mentioned therein?

1655. 4. Whom did you mention as persons engaged in the late businesse in England?

5. What answer gaue you to the particulars of that letter?

B.

To the first this Examinat saith that the letter marked B was written to him by Col. Hawley, which this Examinat received in May, and was in answer to those letters mentioned therein, and that the letter in Cypher taken amongst his papers and marked B was the originall.

To the 2^d this Examinat saith that the effect of his letters of the 27th and 28th of Aprill to Hawley was to advertise him that the King was vpon his way to Cologne and that he dined at a village neere Breda on a day which this Examinat named in his letter.

To the 3^d he saith he did write that he did belceue that Mr Merriweather, Mr Yorke and Mr Gunnery, or such a name, being lawyers were privy to the designe of the rising in the West; and he further saith that the grounds for such his beleef were because they were very much conversant with y^e Kings friends in those parts.

To the 4th he saith, first for those of Kent, he referres himselfe to his answer to y^e 10th interrogatory before mentioned, and in generall saith he wrote that by y^e prisoners or no other way the reasons for any mans being engaged could be made appeare, or who they were that acted as agents in it; for, for his part, he said he could not say any thing positiuely against any, and therefore desired a liste might be sent him and then he would tell them who he thought amongst them were engaged, and that to that purpose in September last, and not till then, he had the liste sent him which was seized amongst his papers, and, upon view of that liste marked H^a now shewed him, he named unto the said Hawley all those persons in the said list against whose names this Examinee hath sett a little Crosse. And for Mr Steph. Bowman, Serj^t Hyde,

^a This list is not preserved among the Nicholas collection.

Frederick his brother, and D^r Henchman named in the said list, this Examinat saith that he wrote this opinion following: that if y^e Marq^s of Hertford were engaged undoubtedly they were privy to it, but that he could not say any thing else of them upon his owne knowledge or other wise then is here expressed; and this Examinat further saith that he cannot remember that he named any other then as aforesaid. 1655.

To the 5th he saith that to y^e other particulars of the letter B not answered to the former interrogatorys, he gaue answer that he should endeavour to meritt favour of the present power, and would be as industrious as might be to learne what was in present accion at Cologne, but for that time he said that ever since the suppressing the rising in England all was here at a stand, and new engines at worke as well Presbyters as others, but that for the present he could not do more unlesse he would send him a considerable summe to dispose of, which from the very beginning was his ayme and pressed by him. And he further saith, though he receiaed the letter B in May, yet he answered it not as to the persons mentioned in the list till September following, before which time most of y^e said persons were in prison. And this Examinat further saith that, when he saw M^r Hawley about the latter end of May, he said no more to him then that he could not say any thing to y^e persons engaged for y^e King, but only give conjectures of them till he had a liste from him, and that then he would tell his opinion, which of them he conceived to be engaged.

LETTER C.

f. 156

Cologne.—The last letters from the Kings of Denmarke and Sweade were, viz^t that to the first was sent by Massey, as I haue said, the intent to procure a liberty to rayse men for his seruice but intended against you, and alsoe touching ordinance and other ammunition pawn'd in his territorys by Montrosse (This King hath alsoe seuerall times giuen the King summes of money, though not very great, which hath caused letters to pass); to the other, letters of credit for S^r W^m Balendine Agency. To get copies of these letters it is difficult and may

1655. render a man suspected, but that it is I can assure you, though of noe great moment.

Bamfields pretentions are from the Presbiterians, who are now fauored by the Queene, etc., at Paris. He pretends he can procure liberty from you to transport men, and to that purpose treates with the King of France, Card^l Mazarin, etc., there for 2,000 men and vnderhand assures the Queene that under this collour with the Presbiterians help, which he assures, he shall be able to serue King considerably in England or Scotland, which Balcarres, etc., press, but the King is deafe to beleue any thing from him. One Lyon pretended the same thing a year since in Scotland; therefore you must be carefull to whom you giue such liberty. I heare S^r Herbert Lunsford hath [gone] for France. Our agents are at worke with all and on all occasions. Rose is this day come hither from England; you cannot blame me, for you haue had timely notice of him and others. James Halsall is now in London, as he saith to me, Day [and] Jeneper prisoners at Dover, for which we are in our family troubled, being, etc. Remember, I pray, Foster and Singl[e]ton at Rye. I cannot learne who be employed at Grauesend by Mr Ch. Hyde, etc., in this nature. The Nuntio here is much the Kings friend and now vsed, as alsoe, to say truth, all the Jesuists, etc., in the businesse of Spayne, which some are of opinion that the Protector only designes to beate them out of monney and to make himselfe more considerable to be included in the generall peace betweene that Crowne and France, which is much doubted. Till old Goring returne, I cannot say what becomes of our remoue; by the next I wilbe more large on this subject. Were I furnished with monney, I dare assure you I could dispose of it soe as to know the privattest things; therefore I pray thinke of it. In the Declaration you haue omitted a rendezvous on Warburton Moore in Cheshire. You shall [hear] more from your cos. Burton by the next; but I pray remember Windham and Loving at Bologne, Booth and Col. Whitley, a crafty man, at Callais, Holdar at Brest, now employed by the King in France.

Sir, when the articles of the peace with France be out, I pray send them or anything in that nature that may concerne trading. I cannot say more at present in our businesse for want of time, being called away to solemnize S^t Andrews Feast, this being the day with our young master. I pray let me heare by the next of the letter of credit or additionall bills for those goods you mention, of which I tooke notice in my last, being they are not to be had euery day, and this will come I assure you to a good markt, and all the care possible you may depend on it shall be taken according to your hearts con-

tent and none of the monney disposed of but to your proffitt, as you shall advise. 1655.

Endorsed by Nicholas: Coppy of Mr H. Mannings letter to Mr Alsop, which was intercepted. Its without date, but was under coner of a letter from him to Mr Heze [kiah] Talbot at London, dated 30 No^{bris} 1655.

C. 1. Who is that Mr Tho. Alsop?

f. 143.

2. How you came to know the advise you gaue as to the King of Denmarke and Massey, as likewise that monneys haue bene seuerall times giuen to the King by the K. of Denmarke?

3. How you came to the knowledge of the letters that Sr W^m Bellenden had and of the contents of them?

4. How you came to know of Bampfilds treaty in France for 2000 men?

5. Who you meane by "our Agents," and when and vpon what occasions they are at worke?

6. When did you giue the first intelligence of Rose his being in England, and how often since, and of what others haue you giuen timely notice?

7. Who he was that said to you James Halsal is now in London?

8. Whither were Day and Jeneper amongst those [of] whom you gaue timely notice?

9. Whither you haue formerly giuen notice of Foster at Douer and Singleton at Rye?

10. Who told you that any are imployed by Mr Cha. Hyde at Grauesend, and what [do] you meane by "etc."

11. What doe you meane by the busines of Spayne, and how doe you know that the Nuntio and the Jesuists are vsed in it?

12. Vpon what grounds haue you wrote that, if you had monney, you would assuredly know the priuatest things, and to whom would you apply yourselfe in the disposing of y^e monney?

1655. 13. What doe you meane by the Rendezvous in Cheshire, and from whom had you the knowledge of it?
14. Who doe you meane by your Cos. Burton?
15. What former intelligence haue you giuen, and to whom, concerning Windham and Louing at Bologne, Booth and Col. Whitley at Callais, and Holder at Brest? How doe you know that Whitley is a crafty man?
16. When was the letter you meane by "in my last" written and to whom?
17. What former advise had you for the dispose of that money and from whom?

C.

f. 145b.

To the first he saith that by Mr Thomas Alsop is meant the aforesaid Coll. Hawley.

To the 2^d he saith that he heard by the Lo. Balcarres, Alderm. Bunce and Mr Massonet that M. G. Massey had letters of recommendation from our King to the King of Denmarke. This Examinat further saith that he did not know of any summs of money which y^e K. of Denmark had given his Ma^{ty}, but only conjectured the same; he likewise saith that he had heard that there were Ordnance pawned long since by y^e Marq^s Montrose, but that he doth not know that M. G. Massey had any instructions concerning the same, but only mentioned it in his letter of his owne head to make his intelligence be more valued.

To the 3^d this Examinat saith that he received advise from y^e said Hawley that Rolt, Agent for Cromwell with the K. of Sweade, had advertised them that y^e K. of Sweade did write often to the King, and that Sr W^m Bellendine was appointed by the King to be sent Agent to y^e K. of Sweade; whereupon, and on the desire of the said Hawley to be informed of what this Examinat knew concerning the same, he, this Examinat, on y^e 17th day of November last wrote to the same effect as he did in the letter C, which was

written the 30th of November last upon a 2^d letter from the said Hawley pressing him to send what he knew concerning the said Sr W^m Bellendines agency. And this Examinat denieth that he had any other advertisement or knowledge of the said Sr W^m Bellendines employment, or other grounds for what he wrote, then what are before mentioned in answer unto this interrogatory.

To the 4th he saith that he did receiue advertisement from his brother at Paris that Col. Bampfild was treating there aboute y^e bringing a regiment to y^e French service, and that he heard the same likewise from the Lord Balcarres here, but that the naming of y^e regiment to be 2000 men was only by conjecture. And this Examinat further saith that, as to what he saith concerning the Queene and y^e Presbyterians and the Kings being deafe to beleuee any thing of Bampfild, or my Lord Balcarres pressing his Ma^y to it, he hath no particular grounds, but only said it by conjecture and to glosse out his intelligence the better. And this Examinat further saith that what he mentioneth concerning Lyon he heard when he was in England.

To the 5th he saith that he wrote that concerning the agents being at worke with all and upon all occasions without any particular grounds, but only to value his intelligence with them and thereby to get the money from them.

To the 6th he saith that the first intelligence he gave of Rose's being in England was in September last upon the occasion mentioned in his former answer to the 8th interrogatory. And he furthe saith that he cannot remember that he wrote concerning him s^{ince} September till now upon Rose's arrivall here; that by others he meant the persons named in the said 8th interrogatory.

To^a the 7th he saith that it was his brother Mr. Ed. Halsey who told this Examinat that Rose told him, the said M^r. Edw. Halsey, that his brother James Halsey was then in London.

To the 8th he saith that neither Day nor Juneper were among

^a This sentence and the next are transposed in the MS.

1655. those he gave timely notice of; but that those he gave timely notice of were only the persons mentioned in the 8th interrogatory.

To the 9th he saith that, as to Forster, he referreth himselfe to the 10th interrogatory and can say no more then what he hath therein expressed; for Singleton, he mentioned [him] at y^e same time when he did mention Forster.

To y^e 10th he saith that what he wrote concerning any employed by Mr. Chaunc^r Hyde at Gravesend was only to set a value on his intelligence.

To the 11th he saith that, as concerning what is mentioned in this interrogatory concerning the Nuntio and y^e Jesuits being used by the King, he saith it was meerly to set a value on his intelligence and to make them the sooner to send him the money.

To the 12th he saith that his writing that, if he had money, he could assuredly know the privatest things was only to get the money from them, which if he had gotten, he would never haue applied himselfe to any, nor doth he know to whom he could haue applied himselfe in disposing of it, nor would he ever haue written more to them in England.

To the 13th he saith that he heard Mr Ed. Halsey say upon y^e reading of Cromwels Declaracion that there was a rendezvous in Cheshire forgotten to be mentioned in the said Declaration, which is all the grounds and knowledge he hath of it.

To the 14th he sath that by "your cosen Burton" is meant himselfe.

To y^e 15th he saith that about June or July last he gave the said Hawley advise of Windham and Loving at Bologne, Booth and Col. Whitley at Calais, and Holder at Brest, as persons employed by the King concerning shipping and prizes, but that he conceived there was nothing doing at Bologne or Calais, and what was, was by Mr Holder at Brest. And he further saith that he misplaced his words by saying Whitley was a crafty man, for he meant it that Loving was a crafty man.

To y^e 16th he saith that the time of the "last" mencioned in the

said interrogatory was about y^e 23th of November last and that it was written to M^r. Hawley. 1655.

To y^e 17th he saith that he had former advise from the said Hawley that he should be supplied with bills and money, if that would do it, to be disposed of as this Examinat should find needfull about the busines with Spaine and y^e present designe in England; and he denyeth that he had any other or more particular advise for the disposing of the said money. And he further saith that by the goods mentioned in the letter C he intended y^e busines of Spaine and designe in England and nothing else, and that he inserted that it should be disposed of by M^r Hawleys consent or directions thereby the more to induce him to send over the same to this Examinat.

LETTER D.

La[us] Deo. Amster. (*Cologne*), xxx^o No. 1655.

t. 158.

Rogers was lately at Calis.

S^r, MOST WORTHY FREIND,

I haue yours of y^e 9th cur. stilo vetere, and also all your former came to hand, though not soe soone by a post as they wontedly were vse to doe. The bill assigned by M^r Ward I haue, as also by your last a 2^d bill, for which I thanke your care and will requite itt att all tymes fathfully when I may. As for our newes here, I can only send you this inclosed printe, being y^e late Queen of Swedens profession of y^e Roman Catholike faith, which, as a nouelty of this age, I send you. For y^e Duke Francois de Lorraine his reuolt with his troopes to y^e King of France and y^e dubious proceedings of Monsieur de Hoquincourt, Marshall of France, att Perone, one day treating auec Monsign^r le Prince de Condé and y^e next with the Cardinall Mazarine, etc., I cannot question but you haue itt on London Exchange as well as we here. Prince W^m Nassaw of Friesland will not faile in carrying Brederodes commande here, att which many storme, and I doe not find y^t *the Princesse Royall*, etc., are satisfied with itt, but seeme rather to haue inclined to P. Mawrice or Beuersward, but *the King* is for Prince W^m and most parte of those prouinces.^a

^a In the original the words "but—prouinces" come at the end of the next sentence.

1655.

Sir, the address of letters to Mr Isack G. is mistaken, for yt should be alwayes in y^e couer of *Mr. David Wicket at Antwerp*, and my brother Johnson hath a long time expected to heare from my good freind *Mr. Willson that way*, being the business concernes him much ; *and when you write to me by the name of Manwaring*, alwayes by *Cudner*, which is sure. Sir, I make bold to trouble you with y^e inclosed to my old Master^a and humbly begg y^e fauoure of you y^t you would please in my behalfe to press his answer either by y^e next post or y^t after att farthest, and y^t in perticular and most especially the *letters of credit or bills* which he shall thinke most conuenient, for now is the tyme for those commodities, and herein, Sir, you will much oblige him who wishes you all hapines and is, Mr Talbott, Sir,

Your most louing and kinde freind to serue you,

Z^A. JOHNSON.

You will find *letters sent to one Mr. Barton att y^e Peacock neer Temple barre from y^e King* himselfe

Original, addressed, For Mr. Hezekiah Talbott, Marchant, att his house in y^e old Jewrey, London.

f. 143b.

D. 1. Who is Hezekiah Talbolt ?

2. How many were those former letters mentioned in this, and when receaued by you, and to what effect were they ?

3. Who that Mr Warde is ? And what bill was that assigned by Mr Warde, and for what summe ? And what other bills and what summes haue you receaued, and from whom ?

4. Who is Mr Isack G ?

5. Who is your brother Jonson, and who is Mr Wilson ?

6. What is the business you say that soe much concernes Mr Wilson ?

7. Who is the person you call your old master ?

8. To what letter and effect is it that you desire Mr Talbot to presse for your old masters ansewr by the next post or y^t after ?

9. How doe you know that the King sent letters to Mr Barton at the Peacock neere Temple Barr, and from whom had you the advise ?

^a "Cromwell" written by Nicholas in the margin.

10. Whom doe you meane by Rogers, whom you aduise to haue lately bene at Callais? And to what purpose did you giue notice of it? 1655.

D.

f. 148.

To the first he saith that by Mr Hezekiah Talbot is meant Mr Haley.

To the 2^d he saith that by the former letters mentioned in this he intended only two; the one whereof had inclosed in it Cromwells Declaracion concerning the differences with Spayne and the other had in it Cromwells Declaracion concerning the Cavaliers, which letters were receaued a little time before the date of the Letter D. In both which letters he the said Haley said that they knew that there was a new designe in England to be suddainely executed, whereof more was knowne there then Hyde (those were his wordes) imagined, but he earnestly desired this Examinee to be very dilligent in enquiring and conveying to him as many particulars of the said designe as he could discover, as alsoe concerning Spayne, promising him that, if monney would doe it and that if the Examinee would say that it should be disposed of to advantage, he should haue 500^{li} or more by the next post, but that he, the said Halley, thought that the businesse of Spayne was of more concernement than any thing that was to be executed in England, adding moreouer that they that had lost one opportunity may possibly loose this alsoe.

To the 3^d he saith that he doth not know who Mr Warde is and that the Bill assigned by Mr Warde was for 177^{li} Flemish or thereabo^r s. He further saith that he receaued alsoe in May last from one Mr Farrington 150^{li} sterling, a merchant in London. He likewise receaued at an other time, viz. about July last, from the said Mr Farrington 100^{li} sterling more, and moreover receaued about ten weekes since 50^{li} sterling, which was returned him by one Mr Summers, an Attorney in London, alsoe an other 100^{li} sterling about Sept. last from the said Summers drawne upon one

1655. Valey at Antwerp ; and this is all the mounney which he hath rec^d or bene assigned to him from England, of which said summes 350^{li} sterling was for his owne and his sisters account, the rest was from M^r Haley, being about 150^{li} sterling.

To the 4th he saith that by M^r Isack G. is meant M^r Isa. Gibs, which is an addresse to himselfe.

To the 5th he saith that by his Brother Jonson is meant himselfe and by M^r Wilson is meant his Cos. Simon Manning, of Hackney.

To the 6th he saith that the businesse mentioned in the said letter D soe much to concerne the said M^r Wilson is a particular businesse betweene the Examinee and his said Cosen concerning the morgage of some houses in London.

To the 7th he saith that the person meant by his old Master is M^r Haley himselfe, and that this letter D was written in the same cipher that the enclosed was, which was for his old master.

To the 8th he saith that by the answer which he desired M^r Haley to presse his old master for was for the letters of credditt or bills for monney which this Examinee soe long expected.

To the 9th he saith that he knowes not that the King sent any letters to M^r Barton at the Peacock neere Temple Barr, nor that there is any such man or signe there, but that he did it to amuse M^r Haley with that intelligence, and he the rather named M^r Barton then any other vnknowne name because he saw a letter of Coll. Phillip's directed to one Barton or Burton or such a name.

To the 10th he saith he referreth himselfe as concerning this interrogatory touchling Rogers to his answer giuen formerly to the 8th interrogatory.

f. 162.

LETTER E.

Amsterdam, L. Deo., 7^o Decembris, 1655. Cologne.

MR. HEZEKIAH TALBOTT.

S^r, ETC.,

Most respected friend, I haue yours of the 16th of last moneth. By

this I haue wrott to Mr Alsop at large touching the designe in England, 1655.
as alsoe, vnder a couer to Mr Miller, sent you a letter of Masseys to me,
for I wrote a sounding letter to him. If you would have any letters
vnder anys hand here, let me know it. I would not venture them
often, being dangerous. I vallue not my paynes at any time to serue
you. Sir, I should haue ben glad if you had pleased to haue bene a
little more large with me in your last as to the peace with France and
persons excluded for some reasons neere myselfe, and therefore intreate
the favour, if the Articles be printed, you would send them me, and,
if they should not, I am confident as much of them as concerns trade
may be had in the Exchange, which be pleased to let me haue with
your conveniency. As to your suite in the Admiralty here, you may be
confident of Mr Zacharias Johnsons care, as alsoe you may be very well
assured that not any thing shall passe where euer the King is but from
time to time you shall haue a most faithfull accompt from me. And I
assure you, if you should thinke fitt to furnish me with monney, I know
I could dispose it soe to your advantage as to giue you much more better
and certaine intelligence of most negotiations with the English and
Scots, and of their present designs, for nothing is more taking here,
and whateuer you remitt to this purpose shall not be embezeled but to
such ends as shalbe of most advantage to your seruice.

Let Major Generail Worsley enquire into that of Warburton Heath,
which I had from the Halsalles, and alsoe into their transaccions in
Lancashire, for James Halsal hath bene employed and is now, as I haue
said. I am sure I haue omitted very few of their agents or envoyes.
It is generally said that the Declaracion conteynes as much as is possible
for you to say or doe on that subject, and they are not well pleased
that it is soe well penned; yet your proceedings against our friends is
hoped may exasperate them, as through despaire [it] may make them
venture on some bold attempt. However, they are glad that soe many
are set at liberty, though on those termes. They feare Henry Seymore
hath through timerousness confest much, which More said is the opinion
of the Tower prysoners, where he, being with Cleaveland, saw him; in
fine, you haue don most wisely, which infinitely vexes the King and all
here, as they themselues vtter.

I hear the Pr^{esse} Royall will goe her journey for France notwith-
standi^g all, etc., speedily. The Pr^{esse} Dowager of Orange we looke on
here as joyned in interest with Comte W^m of Friseland against the
Pr^{esse} Royall, and that they designe the getting the custody of the
Prince of Orange from her, which strangely troubles the King and all
here. I shall not tell you that at the Hague they are preparing ambas-
sadors for seuerall Kingdomes. I meane the persons that goe, being I
presume yon heard of it last weeke.

1655. Sir, I heartely craue your pardon if my stile and the accounts I giue you weekly are not soe methodicall as I could wish, for, as I haue sayd, I dare not in prudence keepe any scrip of paper concerning your businesse from one post to an other. What I haue writt therefore I am forced wholly to rely on my memory, which, may be, may cause my giuing sometimes twice the trouble to you of one thing, etc. Sir, you may assure your selfe that my conscience is soe well satisfied with the justnes of your proceedings and the wickednesse of ours, that whateuer is commanded me in my power in your seruice shall be most punctually obeyed, and that, since God hath directed me to serue you in this kind, I will perseuere faithfully and doubt not but to liue to serue you more considerably. And, Sir, if at any time I make additions to any letters after they are writt, it is of something that I learne after; though it may contradict some thing that I haue writt, yet I am willing you should know all that may be to make your judgement of the whole. Excuse my thus long troubling you concerning my selfe, it being to noe other end then that we may rightly vnderstand one another.

I pray, remember to let me heare concerning Wilson, whither euer he had my letters, for that it may be of concernment and, if there should be any mistake, let me haue a new addresse from him, I pray you.

Copy by John Nicholas; endorsed by Sir Edward, "Dated 7^o Dec. 1655, being prepared to be sent by the post of that day, but was seised y^e Sunday before [5 Dec.], and when it was seised he catch upp the fowle draught of it and would have torne it."

f. 143b. E. 1. What was the contents of the letter of the 16th No^{ber} which you receaued from M^r Hezekiah Talbot?

2. What is the designe in England, which you mention'd in this letter marked E?

3. What meanes would you haue vsed to haue procured letters vnder any mans hand here?

4. What doe you meane by the words "Your suite in the Adm^{lt}y here"? And who is M^r Zacharias Jonson?

5. What you meane by those wordes, "Nothing is more taking here," implying monney?

6. Who is Major Generall Worsley?

7. When, where and to whom did More say what you mentioned in that letter concerning M^r H. Seymour and the prysoners in the Tower?

To the first he saith that there was nothing in the letter of the 16th of No^{ber} last from M^r Heseekiah Talbot, but only the news concerning the peace with France, and to presse this Examine to an answer to his two former letters.

1655.
f. 148b.

To the 2^d he saith that his meaning of the designe in England is the same that is mentioned in the other letter (F) directed to M^r Alsop and noe other.

To the 3^d he saith that he neuer intended to haue vsed any meanes to haue procured any letters vnder any mans hand here, but only wrote that clause to enduce them the rather to supply him with monney, not intending (as he saith) euer to write any more letters to Haley after this letter E.

To the 4th he saith that by the wordes "Your suite in the Admiralty here" he meaneth M^r Haleys concernments here.

To the 5th he saith that by the wordes "Nothing is more taking here," implying monney, his intentions were only by that perswasion to draw the monney from M^r Haley and that he had noe other meaning by it, nor any reflection vpon any person here whatsoever.

To the 6th he saith that Major Generall Worseley is an officer of theirs imploy'd by them into Lancashire.

To the 7th he saith by Moore he meant my Lo. Wentworths seruant M^r Moore, but he neuer heard the said Moore say any such thing as is mentioned in the letter E, but that he heard my Lord Wentworth say that Moore had said something to that effect concerning M^r Hen. Seymours timerousnesse, and the occasion that made this examine mention it in his letter to the said Haley, as likewise what he said concerning the Declaracion, was that the said Haley in a former letter mentioned both those particulars and desired this Examj^r .ce to informe him what he should know concerning the same.

LETTER F.

f. 164.

(1) As I haue said, Marq^s Ormond, S^r E. Hyde and Lo. Culpeper, who
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1655. is now made of that faccion, rule the roaste and designes for the King in England, as neer as I can learne by severall persons. In the first place, they endeavour the Protectors murther (the actors, most of them, I haue often named), which is yet generally thought would be of much advantage to any action. (2) Then it is pretended that some great persons amongst you weekly correspond with them here, and I am sure they highly endeavour to promote commociions in the Army; nay, they do not stick to say that Lambert is no ennemy to them, to which I cannot give beleef. (3) They seeme sorry for Ludlows being apprehended, which the King himselfe hath openly said in his bed-chamber amongst vs Wensday last, for that he was sure he was an irreconcilable ennemy to the Protectors person, and that he had rather make him and S^r Ch. Howard sure to him then any two of your party. (4) Then they thinke a generall rising not faisable because of your cantonising England under your severall Major Generalls, who are all y^e Protectors creatures. (5) So that to supprise some sea-ports which may be of most encouragement to Spaine is thought of most advantage at present. (6) I saw a paper my selfe to this effect concerning Plymouth, which of all is thought most proper, and Dr. James Hyde, Halsal and Skelton are ordered to informe them whether the present condicion of the towne agree with this ensuing relacion, viz.:

“Plymouth, as is humbly conceiued, is the most proper haven in the West which may encourage Spaine to take your Ma^y by the hand, if reduced to your Ma^ys obedience, for it hath not only y^e command of the richest part of Devon called the South Mambes, but also a back inlet into Cornwall, and these parts would haue afforded considerable numbers of men in the last designe had not the intentions of S^r Hu. Pollard, etc., who were entrusted thereabouts been frustrated by being most of them secured a little before the intended rising, and yet will if your Ma^y can procure this towne to be scised, whereby they may haue a safe place to retyre to. And certainly, if Spaine intends any thing, they can not deny your Ma^y 2 or 3000 men at least of your own Irish subjects, which, under colour of being transported into Flanders to assist the next campaignia, may easily land there, there being a place hard by the towne where their ships may moore themselues to the very shoare, which will not only be of great use to their landing but, if the worst fall, a security to their retreat. Great wilbe the advantage of the stores of ordinance, other armes and y^e municion that wilbe found there, as well in private stores as in those of the ennemy. The Vndertakers or promoters of this surprise will engage to haue 500 men in a reddines in the towne to seize the fort and Mount Battin on the arrivall of this force upon some token to be given at sea. That, the towne being secured, in ten dayes time 5000

men may be relyed on to be brought in thither: That the ennemys army, for the most part lying in and about London, cannot come tyme enough to stop such a force and that in the West is little or noe strength. The towne being a Peninsula requires but one part to be fortified, which extends not much more then halfe a mile and the old demolished worke will much speed the making it defensible. The towne being secured with ease, a fort may be raysed over against the passage into y^e Island; supposing it should hold out, that with a small garde and some cannon all relief both by sea and land wilbe debarred. The state of the towne at present, many merchants being well affected as M^r Maynarde, etc., is: The workes dismantelled only, viz^t, first Mount Battin, in which are nine brasse gunns, no gard but cannoneers. (2) The fort or castle, which is garded by almost all townesmen and Presbyterians dayly relieved and no quantity of provision or ammunition therein. (3) The Island fortified by nature, in it about 70 men, small stores of provision or munition therein and no freshe water, but good store of cannon, and the Captain is thought might be gained, did any force appeare."

1655.

To this effect was this discussed at the Councell of the 11th Novembr last and prest by Lo. Rochester to be put in execucion. S^r E. Hyde answered that care was already taken and that the King had sent both to young Goring into Spaine and to De Vic into Flanders, where old Goring will also be, and that care was taken in the West.

This is a copy of the paper taken of what passed that day about it, and I do plainly finde by all that the securing of this towne, Lyn, Roston^a or Yermouth is much aymed at, finding that their hopes are dead without forraigne force, though S^r E. Hyde playes the Mountebanke from tyme to time in assuring accion on his vaine hopes of the Prelaticall party, to whom he is soly addicted.

Copy by John Nicholas.

F. 1. When and to whom did you giue the said advise concerning Marquis Ormond, S^r Ed. Hyde and Lo. Culpeper, and who are those seuerall persons by whom you haue learn'd the same in this letter concerning them?

f. 144

2. How doe you come to know that they endeaour the murther of Cromwell, and who are those persons you haue often named to them to be the actors, as in this letter?

^a So in MS., probably a mistake of the copyist for "Boston."

1655. 3. How doe you know the matters conteyned in the 2^d paragraf of this letter, and from whom haue you had the advise of it?
4. Were you present in the Bed-chamber on the Wensday mentioned in the 3^d Paragraff, when the words therein resited were spoken by the King, or did you receaue the advise thereof from any other person, and from whom?
5. How doe you come to haue knowledge of the matter conteyned in the 5th paragraff?
6. Where did you see the paper mentioned in the 6th paragraff concerning Plymouth and that you call the ensuing relation of that businesse?
7. Howe doe you know Dr James Hyde, Halsall and Skelton are ordered to informe what you mention in the said paragraff?
8. From whom had you the cōpye of the paper taken of what passed at the Councell the 11th of No^{ber} last, about the foresaid businesse of Plymouth?
9. How doe you come to the knowledge of the seuerall particulars in the last paragraff of this letter?
10. Who is Mr. Anto. Miller, and what is his condition?
11. Whither you haue at any time shewne any of the letters you haue sent into England, or any parte of them, to any persons here before you sent them away, and to whom, and which of those letters haue you soe shewne?
12. Whither did you shew the letters marked C D E or F to any person, or did you communicatt the contents of them to any person after you had written them and to whom?
13. Whither haue any persons at any time made any additions to any of your letters by way of postscript or otherwise, and who were those persons, and what were the contents of such letters, additions and postscripts?
14. Whither you haue not deliuered of your papers or letters to any person in this towne to keepe for you or upon some other occasion, and what are those papers and letters soe deliuered, and to whom?
15. Whether did you euer acquaint Mr John Griffith with y^e

correspondence you had with Mr W^m Hawley, or the monny you had receaued or were to receaue from him? Did y^e said Mr Jo. Griffith euer reade any of the said Hawleys letters to you or yours to him? Did you shew him your ciphers or the vse of them or any of them? Did you euer imploy y^e said Mr Jo. Griffith to write or transcribe any letters to y^e said Hawley or any other persons in England, or to superscribe them? Did you euer make vse of y^e said Mr Jo. Griffith's hand in wrighting or superscribing any other letters for you to any other persons on this side y^e sea, and, if you did, to whome were y^e said letters, and what were y^e contents of them? 1655.

16. Whither did you euer communicate to Col. Rich Palmer your correspondency with Mr W^m Halley or any other in England, or did you euer acquaint the said Coll. Palmer with any thing concerning it, or haue any letters passed betweene you two since your being at Cologne?

To the first he saith, the letter F was written to Halley, and to the residue of that interrogatory as likewise to the 2^d 3^d 4th 5th 7th 8th and 9th he saith that he knoweth nothing concerning any of the particulars mentioned in the said interrogatorys nor hath any grounds for them or any of them from any information or discourse which he hath had from any other person, but that the same were wholly invented by himselfe and conveyed to Haley as seeming most of them, if they were reall, of very great concernment, whereby he hoped fully to prevayle with him the said Haley and perswade him to returne vnto this Examine the 500th mentioned in some of his papers deliuered since his restraynte, which is all he intended thereby, not caring what opinion the said Haley should haue of him afterwards, he this Examine fully resolving neuer to write to him or to haue any thing to doe with him more. f. 149.

To the 6th he saith that the greatest parte of the designe mentioned in the 6th paragraff of the letter F concerning Plymouth was taken out of a paper of his owne, which is amongst his papers that were seized, to which he made such additions and variations

1655. as he conceaued proper to make the designe appeare reasonable to them, as if it were reall and consequently might prevayle with the said Haley to send Examine the said monney.

To the 10th he saith that by M^r Anto. Miller is meant the afore-said M^r W^m Haley.

To the 11th he saith that M^r Massonett did transcribe a letter for him which this Examine did write to Coll. Jennings, and M^r Cottrell hath written one or two letters for this Examine to Coll. Jennings, and the said Cottrell hath likewise written two letters to one Nason, a vintner, concerning 20^{li} which Col. Hemar's brother was to pay the said Nason in London, and the said Cottrell hath alsoe written one letter for this Examine to one Brew, a taylor, concerning clothes and monney which this Examine and the taylor were bound for; and this Examine saith that he thinkes that M^r Cottrell write one letter to Coll. Canes by the name of Mons^r Charon, which was only in answer to a civell letter which he had receaued from the said Colonell and to desire that he would send him the newes bookes. He likewise saith that he writt a letter for him to his vncl Manning about some accounts betweene them, and alsoe saith that the said Cottrell writt an other letter for him to one M^r Frevile in the Byshoprick of Durham concerning a bond pretended to be entred by him to this Examine. And these are all the letters that this Examine can remember haue bene written for him by any other person; and this Examine further saith that he hath neuer shew'd any of those letters that he writt to Coll. Haley to any person nor euer acquainted any with the contents of them or of any parte of them.

To the 12th he saith that he neuer shew'd the letters marked C. D. E. F. to any person nor did communicate any of the contents of them or any parte of them to any person.

To the 13th he saith, that neuer any person did make any additions or postscripts in any of his letters but only in one letter which he had written to Capt. Griffith concerning 30 dollars betweene them two, which letter he left sealed vpon his table whilst the barber trim'd him, when M^r John Griffith coming into

his chamber and seeing the superscription of the letter to Capt. Griffith did with the consent of this Examinee breake open the said letter and wrote a postscript in it (as he, the said Mr John Griffith, told this Examinee) concerning a horse of the said Capt. Griffith, which was left under the care of the said Mr John Griffith, and then he, the said Mr Jo. Griffith, sealed vp the said letter againe, but this Examinee saith he did not see what the said Mr Jo. Griffith had wrote therein. 1655.

To the 14th this Examinee saith that he hath not deliuered any paper or letter to any person to keepe for him, and that he hath noe paper or letter remayning with him except a copy of his petition to the King.

To the 15th this Examinee saith that he did neuer acquaint Mr John Griffith with the correspondence he had with Mr W^m Haley or with any summes of monneys that he had receaued or was to receaue from the said Haley; but he saith he, this Examinee, did at seuerall times discourse to him, the said Mr Jo. Griffith, Mr Cottrell and to Capt. Hall, a seaman, that he hoped he should find meanes to get shortly a good summe of monney out of England, which if it succeeded, he intended to imploye it at sea at Dunkerke in a Friggatt vnder the Kings commission and to imploye the said Hall in it. And this Examinee further saith that he, the said Mr Jo. Griffith, did neuer reade any of them or that he, the said Mr Jo. Griffith, was euer acquainted with any of the contents of the letters of the said Haley to him, this Examinee, or of his letters to the said Haley. And he further saith that he neuer did snen vnto the said Mr John Griffith his ciphers or teach him the vse of them or any of them, but that it may well be he, the said Mr Jo. Griffith, resorting often to his chamber, and sometimes when he was writting, might at a distance see them lye vpon the table. And he further saith that he, this Examinee, neuer employed him, the said Mr Jo. Griffith, to write or transcribe any letters to the said Haley or to any other persons in England, but that he, the said Mr John Griffith, hath superscribed some of them, but neuer

1655. opened or read them when he did soe or was privy to any of the contents of them He further saith that vpon or about the 20th day of October and vpon the 2^d and 23th November last he wrote in all 5 letters for this Examinee, all five whereof were superscribed to M^{rs} Billingsley (by which was meant M^r James Hannem), which the said M^r Jo. Griffith was not then acquainted with, and three of them were sent to Bruxells the said 2^d of No^{ber}. The contents of one of the said five letters, as this Examinee saith, were to advertise him that the King was here and conteyned some civillitys to him, the said Hannem, and the contents of the next three were to encourage him in a particular busines the King knowes of and to invite him to come hither, and the contents of the last of the five were to expostulate with him for his speedy departure from this towne before his Ma^{ty}s returne from conducting the Pr^{sse} Royall towards Holland. And this Examinee further saith that he now recollecteth himselfe and remembreth that vpon the Friday or Thursday before the Pr^{sse} Royall parted hence he, the said M^r John Griffith, was imployed by this Examinee vpon his request to write one more letter superscribed to the said M^{rs} Billingsley, which indeede was for the said M^r Hannem and concerned the said businesse. And this Examinee saith that, except the foresaid letters, he neuer imployed M^r John Griffith to write any more letters for him to any persons on this side of the sea.

To the 16th this Examinat answereth negatively concerning euery particular mentioned in this interrogatory.

Endorsed, Examinations read att the Boord y^e 10th Dec^r, 1655.

f 152. Examinacions of M^r Hen. Manning taken at Cologne by the Lord Marq^s of Ormond, the Lord Culpeper and M^r Secretarie Nicholas the 11th day of December, 1655, by command of his Ma^y sitting in Councill.

• 1. To enquire of M^r Manning what time he received the severall summes of money mencioned in his answer to y^e 3^d Article upon

the letter D, and particularly when he received the 150^{li} which he 1655.
acknowledges to haue had from one Farrington, merchant in
London.

2. And likewise to declare when he is to receive the 177^{li}
Flemmish assigned unto him by M^r Warde, and in whose custody
is the first bill for that summe.

3. To know of M^r Manning when he saw any letter from Col.
Phelipps superscribed to Barton and how he came to see it.

4. To know of him whether the aforesaid Haley hath spotts of
gunpowder on his face.

5. To know of him who is M^r John Browne.

6. Whose hand writing are the letters marked 1, 2, 3.

To the first this Examinat saith that he received the bill for f. 153
150^{li} at Dunkerke from one M^r Farrington, merchant in London,
in Aprill last, and that money was payed at Antwerp the May
following, which summe he acknowledgeth to be upon the account
of Haley.

To the 2^d he saith that the bill for 177^{li} Flemish is in M^r Cudners
hands, and that this Examinat did receive about a fortnight since
upon that bill by M^r Cottrell 160 and odd Dolars and hath assigned
out of the same bill to M^r Nic. Armorer for y^e use of Col. Phelips
100 Dolars and hath likewise assigned to D^r Jay 250 Guilders ;
and also he hath assigned to one Benjamin Carter at the request of
Captaine Griffith 100 Dolars.

To the 3^d he saith that y^e letter from Col. Phelips to M^r Barton
was inclosed in a short letter to M^r Cudner, which letter to Cudner
this Examinat having opened without Col. Phelips's privity, he
thereupon gaue that advise mentioned in the letter D.

To y^e 4th he saith that y^e said W^m Haley with whom he useth to
correspond hath gunpowder-spots in his face.

To y^e 5th he saith that by M^r John Browne is meant sometimes
Haley, sometimes Bets, and sometimes Jennings.

To y^e 6th he saith that the letter (1st) dated the $\frac{6}{16}$ th Aprill

1655. signed John Browne is from Haley; that y^e letter marked (2), dated 27th of Aprill, signed John Browne, is also from the said Haley; and that the letter numbred (3), dated the 30th March last, subscribed Ant. Miller is likewise from y^e said Haley.^a

Endorsed, Examinations of Mr Hen. Manning taken 11th Deber 1655 on the inclosed interrogatorys.

- f. 166. Examinations of Mr Hen. Manning taken at Cologne by the Lord Marquis of Ormond, the Lord Culpeper and Mr Sec^{rie} Nicholas the 11th day of Decemb^r, 1655, by command of his Ma^{ty} sitting in Councell.

This Examinee being asked why he kept Haley's and Jennings's letters and destroyed all the rest, saith that he kept Jennings's because, as he thinkes, there is some mention of monney in it, and he saith he cannot well tell why he kept that letter of Halleys mentioned in that interrogatory, but he thinketh that the reason is because it was the first considerable letter of businesse he receaued from him; but this Examinee acknowledges to haue receaued before that letter (which promises rewarde to him and his posterity) fower other letters from Halley, the first whereof was a shorte one dated either the 16th or 23th of March last, the second whereof was about the 30th of March, the third whereof was the 16th of Aprill, and the last of the said fower letters was the 27th of Aprill last. And this Examinee further saith that the first of the said fower letters was in answer of his letter written to the said Halley from Cleue about the 13th of February, wherein he, the said Examinee, acquainted the said Halley with his willingnesse to correspond with him and to giue him aduise of what intelligence should come to his knowledge, for which he desired in the said letter to be supplied with monneys from him the said Halley.

^a These letters are of no importance. The first (f. 168) sends a bill of exchange and a cipher (not preserved), the second (f. 169) acknowledges Manning's letters of 27 April, n.s., and the third (f. 171) acknowledges a letter of 1 April, n.s., and ends: "The Protector, they say, will make great advantage of y^e rising of the Kings party. They say hee will trye those hee has taken by Juryes."

This Examinee, being demanded when he heard of the businesse concerning Coll. Lyon, saith that he heard of that businesse by Colonell Richard Palmer, when he was in England. 1655.

This Examinee, being demanded what is meant by the word "satisfaction" mentioned in Capt. John Griffith's letter to him, saith it is concerning 30 Dollars the remaynder of a bill of 100 Dollars which this Examinee saith he gaue to the said Capt. Griffiths, concerning which he had formerly written to him desiring him not to receaue the said 30 Dollars but only 70 Dollars vpon the said bill.

To the question concerning M^r Edward Halsell this Examinee (in the presence of M^r Ed. Halsell) affirmeth that he, the said M^r Edw. Halsell, did tell him in the presence neere vnder the Candlestick the same day at night that Rose came hither that he

U said Rose told him, the said M^r Ed. Halsell, that his brother 15's in London; to which M^r Edw. Halsell saith that he might very in all say it, but he does not remember it.

fc This Examinee, being asked what he could say concerning M^r Chancellor Hydes being accused to the King, saith that he being one time in drinke did say in his lodging to Coll. Heymour^a some thing concerning the Chancellor which possibly might be to some such purpose, but he doth not remember the particulars; but this Examinee saith it is true the Lord Balcarris told him that the Lord Gerrard had written hither that some intelligence was kept by some persons neere the King with the rebells in England.

Endorsed, Examinations of M^r Hen. Mannings taken 11th Deber 1655.

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

f. 576.

HONBLE. S^r,

Bruxells, 9th Decemb., 1655.

There was somthinge in your last whereto I did not expresse

^a By this name, as well as by "Hemar," on p. 182, Col. Richard Highmore is meant. He had lodged in the same house as Manning, and was examined in consequence (Eg. 2542, f. 177.)

1655. my selfe fully unto, which was the opinion yow haue of Mr Brookes [Sexby] to be a spy. Don Alonso pretendes to know him very well and many of his freindes in England, as Sir Hen. Vane and that party, that any thinge tould to him against that party will not season with him. I perceaue they are resolved to attende what the Leuellers will doe, and if they should admit of a personall conference with our Kinge, though he came *incognito*, before that tryall be made, they thinke it would absolutely hinder the Leuellers actinge; but that the Kinge should sodainly come upon them without inuitacion they would take it as an high affront donne on purpose to hinder there proceedinges with the Leuellers. If his Ma^{ty} haue a litle patience, let the Leueller try what he can do. If they can kill Cromwell, his particular freindes and kindred that are possessed of the most considerable garisons in England, Scotland and Ireland will, rather then lose all, perhappes turne to the Kinge, and, if the Leuellers se they cannot bringe there purposes to passe without the Kinge, the Spaniard and those of that party that now dares not speake of the Kinge for feare of beinge accounted a Royallist will be easily hearkened unto. All which may be hindered if his Ma^{ty} come without invitacion hither and nothinge gotten of good to himselfe.

If the Spaniard should finde it more conuenient for his present affaires to send any person to his Ma^{ty} rather then by his comminge hither to create any jealousies either in Cromwell or the Leuellers, I hope his Ma^{ty} will with fredome condescend to there demaundes, which I am confident for matter of relegion will extende noe further then a toleracion; generall or equiuocall answeres will be taken as denialls. Here is much discourse about the Princesse Royalls goinge at this time into France, when there is one article in the peace for the exclusion of the family of the Stewarts fourth of France without any addition of Royall or other noble epithite. And they say my Lord Norwich saies himselfe he is to attende hir, which relacion of his owne hath blasted his reputacion with the Spaniard so much as, where before he was the most proper to

negotiate here, he will now finde himselfe much diminished in there esteme. Certainly it is Cromwell that settts on Mazarin to bringe this uisit about on purpose to beget a jealousy in the Spaniards against the Kinge, whom they know loues so derely his syster. The Spaniard are infinety jealous to medle with any that haue any correspondence with the French, insomuch as I could haue wished that amongst those letters lately written by his Ma^{ty} to the ministers here one had not bene sent at the same time to the Prince of Condé, but that it had bene sent some time after or not untill the Prince had first sent one himselfe, for they are mistaken that thinke the Spaniard haue any other esteme or valewe for the prince further then to serue themselues of him, nor the Prince of them. I know not whether I gaue yow an account of a discourse uttered by Fuentsaldagnia upon a businesse of importance that was at a metinge in the Jesuists Library, where the party that related the secret desired the Prince of Condee to be there. After the businesse was ended Fuentsaldagnia was uery angry the Prince was acquainted with it, sainge the Prince had nothinge to do with there secrets of state, and would never after admit the Prince to further knowledge of [them]. I cannot understand that a generall peace will be of so greate concernemnt to our Kinge. Yow may be assured Cromwell hath France obliged to make noe peace without includinge him, and the Spaniard and the Pope will haue litle consideracion of our Kinge so far as to deny a generall peace for his Ma^{ty}s cause, unlesse they haue before hand receaued satisfaction from him. And for the receauinge aid from the French underhand, [this] is but a delusion, thereby to hinder a stricte alliance betwene his Ma^{ty} and the Spariard. 1655.

Here was one supped at our ordinary last night, a French man that came lately out of England with letters from Mons. Barriere, the Prince of Condees agent in England, and is now retourninge againe. They say he came for money to pay his expenses at London and then he will retourne, but I doubt there is more in it.

1655. Fuentsaldagnia is gone to Dunkirke to uiew the frontiers there, where its sayd they expecte Cromwell will send an army under the commannde of Monke to gaine Mardike or some other landinge place on that coast. Some say the French, Holland and Cromwell would haue these countries a Commonwealth and they the protectours of them, thereby to satisfy all parties from the jealousy of any of them that should be absolute maisters of them. The letters from England are not yet come, so as you will haue none by this post, I suppose. Fuentsaldagnia and Mr Brookes [Sexby] are at Dunkirke, where all letters hither to Germany and Holland will be opened to se what they can discouer.

Sir, yow see my fredome in this, wherein if you thinke any thing wourth his Ma^{ty} knowledge I beseche you let him se it, but for any other, as there is nothings in it requires an answere whereto the Counsellis consent or knowledge is required, so I pray yow let none else know of it, and if this way of writinge offend his Ma^{ty} let me know it, and I shall most willingly forbear, for I haue noe other end but to serue his Ma^{ty} accordinge to my duty, which by the lawes of England is neither tied to this or that religion, but only to serue the Kinge when he is in nede of me. If the Sweade, Scot or any other will assist the Kinge, if I may be permitted, I shall, as I haue formerly, serue his Ma^{ty} faithfully, whom God almighty blesse, which is the praiser of

Your most humble and most faithfull seruant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

SIR ALEXANDER HUME.

f. 578

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Hage, 9 Dece. St. No., 1655.

. . . . Since my last there hath been some more discourse then before of her Highnesses iorney into France, but no time that I hear named, and, betweene you and me, I haue some cause to belecue that her Highnesse hath so great a desire to comply with the

1655.

Queen her mothers desire of seeing her as shee may be apt enough, if no impediment arise elsewhere, to ouercome all difficulties that can occurre here to hinder her. By the last post I gaue you notice how the offices vacant by the death of Brederode were like to be disposed of. It is undoubtedly beleueed P^r William shallbe Feltmarechal, which will so much discontent P^r Maurice as it is certainly thought he will quitte the seruice of the States, unlesse there be some way also taken to giue him satisfaction, which they say they ar now about. The Princesse of Nassau continowes very well since her deliuery. Our princesse hath euery day sent to see her and was purposed this afternoon to haue visited her, but that shee was hindered from going abroad by a cold unwholsom miste. Her Royall Highnesse and the Princesse Dowagere haue interchanged visites and converse very civilly together. Yesternight at her Highnesses desire the Princesse Dowagere gaue her daughter Mad^{elle} d'Orange leaue to accompany our Princesse to a balette that some 9 or 10 young gentlemen presented to the Queen of Bohemia and her Highnesse at a place in the town of purpose fitted for it, which lasted from 9 or 10 a clock at night till 4 of the morning, and if it had not been to satisfy our Princesse, the other would not haue suffered her daughter to be so late abroad. There was a great croud in the place with confusion enough, which could hardly be auoyded at such an occasion where there was no chief to command the rest, and there hath been this morning a quarrell about it between one Dorp, one of the masquers, and a French gentleman that he raised from a seate to place a lady, who very indiscreetly challenged Dorp for it, but the successe hath fallen out as it was to be wished, for Dorp hath disarmed him without any other hurt done.

I am very glad to hear that M^r Mannings villany is discouered, and I beseech God that all who use such practices may haue the like fortune. I confesse I was much deceiued in the man, whom by his countenance I should haue beleueed to be a person of great candor and integrity, and there were diuerse about the Court who

1655. gaue a very good report of him, but I myself had never any particular acquaintance. It were much to be wished that he might be brought to discouer all his complices, but I know not what way can be taken there to fright him to it, being he is without his Maties dominions and so is not like to have any apprehension of torture. The Royall party in England ar indeed in a very sad condition and haue cause enough to fear worse, unlesse God in his infinite mercy preuent it by some unexpected good accident for the King, which I beseech God to send speedely. So intreating the continuance of your fauour;

I am euer

Your most affectionate humble servant,

A. HUME.

NEWSLETTER.

London, $\frac{9^{\text{ber}} 29}{10^{\text{ber}} 9}$, 1655.

- f. 580. Wee haue had here some stirre betweene y^e French and English about a seruant of y^e French ambassador, who beeing dismissed from his Master and hauing a passe to returne into France, made no use thereof, but gott himselfe into y^e seruice of Sir William Sidley. This beeing knowne to some lacquies of y^e ambassadors they gaue him the bastonade, but his quarrell was reuenged by Sir Williams men, who gaue as much to some of the French, and Sir William complayned to y^e Protector of y^e affront done by strangers, so y^t some doe thinck y^e business is not yet ended.

But to greater matters. Here wee haue a hundreth shippes victualed and doe prepare fifty more, for wee are resolu'd to goe on with our desigune and inuent all meanes possible to raise moneys. The tenth and fifteenth part of the Malignants estates are taxed, wherein some Caualiers doe yield, others not, though they bee forced to let them take what they please. All doe grumble at a

change exacted of them, which is y^t they must answer for their seruants acting any thing against y^e State, as alsoe bee obliged to keepe them from drunckeness and swearing, vnder payne of beeing sequestred, if it bee knowne and prooued. They iudge this to bee harsh, and haue complayned to the Protector, who answers two things to justefy the proceedings: first, y^t hee seese no reason but y^t they may bee as able each to gouerne his owne family from such disorders as hee doth 40^m soldiers in his army; secondly, hee sayth y^t most of y^e inconueniences of y^e Kingdome doe proceed from y^e forlorne poore Caualliers, who get into good howses to bee gentlemen vsers to ladyes, stewards of great persons, companions to y^e gentry, hangers on, hungry fellowes, etc., who intrude themselues. These, says hee, doe empoison their Masters and their servants myndes, striue to keepe up y^e King of Scots credit and for y^t end speake ill of y^e State and Gouernment, swagger and drinck, and therefore to deterre gentlemen from keeping such servants hee will haue them to answer for their behauiours, words and actions. 1655.

The Marchants haue lately shewed to y^e Protector what a vast losse it is to the State, as well as to trading, to haue a warre with Spaine, but for all y^t it must goe on. Wee lately haue had certayne aduise y^t the supply of nineteene shipps sent about six monethes since for y^e West-Indyes arriued safe to y^e Barbadoes, and y^t after some dayes refreshing and taking in fresh water they set sayle for Jamaica according to y^e orders they there found left by Ad^l Penn in his returne for England.

A Declaration ^a is set forth by y^e Protector in order to secure y^e peace of y^e common wealth, consisting of 3 articles, 1^o, y^t all armes offensiue and defensiue bee no more kept after y^e 1^o of Dec^{br}, 1655, by any person y^t hath bine sequestred or actually borne armes for y^e late King or Charles Stuart; Sec^{do}, y^t no such person after y^e 1^o January, 1655, keepe or harbour in their houses any se-

^a See a copy in Brit. Mus. 669, f. 20.

1655. questred chaplains or school masters for education of their children upon paine of beeing proceeded against; Tertio, y^t no sequestred minister after y^e 1^o of January preach either publike or priuate upon paine of beeing proceeded against as by the orders is drected; Whitehall, y^e 24 of No^{br}, 1655.

In the handwriting of Percy Church.

JOSEPH JANE.

Hage, 10 10^{bre}, 1655.

- f. 581. RIGHT HO^{ble},
 How the Cavaliers take this last proscription wee know not, but beleve it must necessarily enforce them to some safe councells, which must be either to take of (*sc. off*) the vsurpacion vpon their lawfull liberty or submitt to the present power and seeke to approve themselves obedient to it without any hope of reparation for all the pressures and dishonours they have layen vnder. There is noe doubt but it must ly heavy vpon them in regard that some countyes were within the lynes of communication, where its impossible the Cavaliers in their countyes cann pay the militia that is to be mayntayned by them. Now if the Cavaliers must pay in their owne countyes and others, it wilbe a burthen that a reasonable creature must sinke vnder, and as wee hope the Spaniard by extremity may be brought to helpe vs, soe wee can only hope that despaire in the people of England must guide them to helpe themselves. And though it be a paradox, yet it may fall out that this presumption of Cromwells to lay this loade on them may have effects contrary to the politique that he and others are governed by. I knowe that all councells now a dayes are layed in power, but wee finde by experience that the will may be too farr forced and that there are bounds beyound which force will not worke, or may easily be vneffectuall by very ordinary accidents against it. But I rely not on any of their suppositions, seeinge wee have such a

1655.

continuall current of contrary successes, and att present the busines of the Spaniard, which seemed at first very hopefull, declines to the fate of our former expectacions; for I heare that, as the Spaniard granted noe commissions of reprisall, soe some that were taken of the English and brought into Flanders have beene released, and Cromwell havinge granted some letters of Marque revoked them vpon notice the Spaniard had granted none. This is very great civility between states, if a warr be intended, and the least that cann be collected from hence is that both are inclined to peace, as all men see they have reason, both having wants and the one a powerfull neighbour enemy. And though there cann be noe assurance to the Spaniard but that Cromwell may soone fall vpon him againe and all agreements for trade in the Indies wilbe ruynous to the Spaniard and all capitulations excluding trade wilbe diminutions to Cromwell, yet when the losses on both sides are putt in the ballance, the present dangers overweigh and if not in an intrinsique poize, yet in the sence of the persons concerned. And therefore I thinke they despayre not of peace on the Spaniards side, who desire it, nor they despise it on Cromwells part, who as much need it, though hitherto they have had the advantage to be sought vnto for what they desired. And by my coniectures of the tempers of the Spa. Ministers here by the countenance of such as I see they have noe briske thoughts, nor any way incline to a warr with Cromwell. I only tell you my coniecture and by small symptomes rather as one that tells fortunes then gives demonstrations.

I mett with an officer here that I heare is of States extraction who professes love to the Kinge, but I heare is a man of newes. He told me Midd[leton] was covertly att Amsterdam and stayed by the Kinge from his voyage to Swede or Poland and that there was some designe in the Kings interest in Scotland. I beleaved not what was said, though there may be somewhat not fitt to be taken notice of. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

1655.

HENRY MANNING.

SIR,

Eg. 2542,
f. 179

You haue these lines from a person whose sole is so full of horror for the crime y^t itt is guilty of y^t [it] will not admitt me to take y^e least rest without y^e easing of my minde, which I cannot doo (as I well know) to any person of more honoure, conscience, piety and charity then yourself. Sir, I shall in y^e 1st place (with y^e most contritedest heart y^t was euer yett in the world) humbly craue your fauoure in y^e Report, not that I desire but y^e worst of my crimes should be knowne to his most sacred Mat^{ie} but y^t you would out of your most benigne charity make such an intercession in my behalf with a remembran[ce] both of my fathers life lost, much of my owne blood and my whole fortune in y^e just cause of his Mat^{ie}; and, Sir, you will by this doe y^e most and greatest act of charity y^t is possible to be don in y^e whole world, for God knowes my heart was neuer disloyall, thoughe the diuell (since this business) hath both managed my actions and gouerned my fingers. Y^t which with all humbleness I begg is y^e greatest juell to me, my life, which to loose on any score to serue his Mat^{ie} I should not in y^e least vallue, but to loose itt on so base, vnworthy and wicked a score as this, it will make me and my family infamous, nay my very fathers ashes rise in iudgement against me. Sir, I am now in y^e flower of my age and haue dayes enough to expiatt att least y^e greatest part of this pernicious crime by y^e grace and permission of God; and, Sir, what intercession you shall please to make for me, I assure you on y^e faith [of] a Christian my life shall euer be a pledge to you for itt. I can not help y^e defects y^t nature hath giuen me as orator in my owne cause, neither what the diuell by his instigacion hath drawne me into in this most accursed business, itt being now to late to mend itt and not to soone for y^e future to repent, which from y^e bottome of my heart I doe.

Sir, I shall once more beg and humbly craue your fauoure in my behalf, which you may (for, alasse, what can y^e life of one

poore man signifie y^t hath only been misled by y^e Diuell?); you may well be angry with me for troubling your patience herewith, but, when I tell you y^t one all sides people fill me with seuerall kinds of death, I hope your charity will pardon me. Sir, if on my examinacion I haue not answered euery interrogatorie fully, I should beg y^e fauoure y^t you would lett me know itt, and which of them and in what pointe you are vnsatisfied in, and I shall endeaunour a colleccion of my memory as well as I can; for, Sir, I protest, my letters being soe often att random wrott, I can not precisely remember many thinges, which if there may be any thing you thinke materiall for me to say (y^t I can) for his Ma^{ties} service, I beseech you lett me know itt ere you conclude your report, protesting before God att present I know not to what I could answer more truer then I haue as to those many and seuerall perticulars as to y^e effect. 1655.

Sir, I haue also an humble request, which is y^t you would please to lett me know by y^e bearer whether you conceiue itt proper an humble petition of mine may be presented to his Ma^{tie} at y^e time of your presenting of y^e report. And also I humbly lett you knowe I haue not a penny to buy me bread, though I haue money oweing me in the towne. Sir, in fine I most humbly beg your fauoure in y^e behalf of a most ruined afflickted sorrowfull and relenting soule, who will alwaies acknowledge such graces as may be don for, R^t Hon^{ble} Sir,

Your poore ruined and deceived seruant,

HE. MANNING.

Endorsed, R[ecieved], 10^o Dec. St. No. 1655.

HENRY MANNING.

From my dolefull imprisonment, this 11th of December, 1655.

May itt please your honour,

From a heart ouerwhelmed with sorrow and affliction and truly

Eg. 2542,
f. 189.

1655. repenting of all crimes he hath most maliciously perniciously and abominably acted you haue these lines, humbly beseeching your honoure to lett them be communicated att y^e Counsell before any sentence shalbe giuen against me by his most sacred Ma^{tie}.

1st. As I haue already don, in y^e presence of God, before whose tribunall I must one day giue an accompt of my accions, I doe protest I doe not know of any one man about y^e Court, nay on this side the sea, y^t I can say to my knowledge hath any thing to doe with the Rebels, and, if I did, I doe protest most willingly, nay most gladly, [I] would discouer them.

2. I can affirme with y^e same protestacion to be as much a truth as God is just those letters y^t were taken in my tronk were y^e last y^t euer should haue been written into England on y^t score and y^t my intended departure hence was reall and my designe of putting forth a vessell of warr to sea was my full resolucion.

3. I can say safely I know not of one man in England y^t euer was seized on by any correspondence of mine.

4. I can say, and sweare itt, y^t the letter which was taken in cypher amongst my papers to me was y^e 1st y^t I euer had of correspondence in cypher or as to business of this nature in all my life.

5. That I neuer had to doe with any of y^e Rebels in this kind during my being in England nor vntill this time in all my life, but euer since my being a witness to y^e death of my father fighting for his Ma^{tie} in his most iust cause my wounds and accions rec^d therein haue sufficiently testified my zeall in and to his Ma^{ties} seruice vntill this diabolically crime, which I must acknowledge to be y^e iudgement of God imposed vpon me for soe heynous a sinn as to permitt my heart (which was neuer disloyall) being sullied with the foule and abominable crimes which I now justly suffer for; [which] doth more afflict me then y^e losse of 1000 liues, had I them, on an honorable occasion in his Ma^{ties} seruice.

Now may itt please your honour and his Ma^{ties} most honorable Counsell, by which I know much force may be added to my

happiness by your honours intercession, to intercede in my behalf to his most gracious Ma^{tie} for my life, y^t is most iustly in his Ma^{ties} hands, itt shall euer be vnto your honour a pledge of gratefullness, and I call y^e heavenly God to wnesse fathfull and cinsere in his Ma^{ties} seruice. I shall humbly offer, vizt.:— 1655.

1. By all y^e bonds of a Christian I will oblige myself neuer to returne into England or into any of y^e Rebells quarters vntill his Ma^{ties} restauration and not then without a liberty from his Ma^{tie}.

2. I will oblige my self by y^e same bonds neuer to haue any correspondence there or any where else and to reside in any place and obserue such a rule in all as his Ma^{tie} shall please to thinke fitt to direct.

3. In case his most excellent Ma^{tie} shall not thinke fitt to trust me att liberty, I doe humbly offer a voluntary imprisonment either at Bruxells, Gant, Antwerp or in any place of y^e Spanishe quarters, nay in y^t of any other Prince y^t his Ma^{tie} shall thinke fitt, where I will most contentedly remaine during his Ma^{ties} pleasure, hoping y^t by my patience and sufferance I may in time by my repentance appease y^e most iust anger of God against me; and whenever his Ma^{tie} shall thinke fitt to let me draw a sword in his royall Ma^{ties} quarrell, I doubt not but to washe and expiate my crime with my blood.

4. In case Cromweil or any Gouvernement by y^e rebells in England shall take notice of my imprisonment and presse my enlargement in any kind, I take my God to witness and oblige my self in a Christians bonds vtterly to disowne them and solely euer, till his most gracious Ma^{tie} shall please, to remaine as a fathfull prisoner vntill by his Ma^{ties} owne hands I may find grace, and till then I shall euer pray and euer afterwards for his Ma^{ties} good success in all his designes.

I humbly intreate this may be offered and y^t my dealing ingeniously in telling y^e worst of my self may not proue the ruine of a soule y^t euer with a true and cordiall heart affected his

1655. Ma^{tie}. And I can not doubt (thoughe I wish itt lay in my power to remedie itt) but y^t his Ma^{tie} will find y^e effects of my correspondence is not soe blacke and horrid as made, but that those y^t haue long giuen itt will still continew. With my humble prayers for his Ma^{ties} prosperity and in all humbleness crauing all your honours fauoures in my behalf, I am without his Ma^{ties} grace and pittie

Your honours most sad ruined and lost seruant,

HE. MANNING.

I am yett confident your honour may vse my cypher, for should not Hally be in London none else knowes my name or anything of me as to this business.

Eg. 2542,
f. 198.

HENRY MANNING.

Rt Hon^{ble},

. . . . I hope you will pardon this trouble I now giue you in most humbly and from a most contrite heart humbly beseeching your honour to represent these few words followeing to his most sacred Ma^{tie} and Counsell, whose hearts I humbly beseech y^e Diuine Ma^{tie} to incline his most royall Ma^{ties} heart and also his most honorable Counsell to pittie, mercey and charity on me, y^t am y^e least deseruing of any person liuing. My crime is soe horrid y^t to expiate my life for y^t which my heart soe much abhorres I must as to my last refuge in all humbleness and from y^e bottom of my heart humbly begg y^t instead of y^e death which may most iustly be exposed on this corporall bodey of mine y^t I may be condemned as to y^e losse of itt to y^e world, in y^t I may be admitted to leade y^e remainder of my life in a cloyster, whereby I may haue y^e comfort to liue to repent my most wicked accions and by my prayers to expiate this too heynous a crime . . .

Your honours most sorowfull, relenting, repenting and contrite
seruant, 1655.

HE. MANNING.

Sunday, 12^o Dec., 55.

I am very confident, if yo^r honour please to make use of y^e cypher (I will write any letter in itt his Ma^{tie} shall thinke fitt), itt will take effect. I humbly beseech your honour remember y^e request I haue made to your honour to gett liberty from his Ma^{tie} y^e father y^t is in y^e Jesuites cloyster may be admitted to come to me too morow for y^e better comfort of my distressed soule, as also y^t I put your honour in minde of Juliers or any townes in Limbourg or Lucenborghe for my imprisonment. If euer you please to giue comfort to a Christian, I humbly begg you in pittie and charity vse your favoure to his Ma^{tie} for me, y^e most vilest liuing.

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

HON^{ble} Sr,

Bruxells, 13th Decemb., 1655.

f. 586.

If these small coniectures that I make from those people I mete withall sometimes that conuerse with Don Alonso and other Spanish ministers can giue yow any satisfaction, it is all I aime at. The Kinge of Spaine is harder put to resolute now then euer he was since it was a Spanish monarchy, the French, Cromwell, Sweade all threatninge the house of Austria, Flanders, Italy and Spaine and the Indies infested by his enemies, his subiectes discontented, this flete not come home, his monarchie in a miserable condition for want of an heire male, so as noe counsellour dares speake frely his minde for feare the daughter be married to that prince and so become his master, to undertake our kinge and his retinewe all in a necessitous condicion and his party in almost the condicion of slauery without armes—these are considerations able to shake wise

1655. men. Yet I am confident, if all these do continewe in this bad posture they now are in (as God forbid they should), the Spaniard, after he haue tried what the Leueller can do (which I beleieue will not be much), will be necessitated to haue a personall conference [with] our Kinge and, if they can be once ingaged, I doubt not but God will blesse such honorable endeaours, and I know the chieftest ministers here affected our kinges person and Mr Brookes [Sexby] himselfe spoke well of our kinge. It is but time and they will be all united, only yow and, I thinke, they losinge this winter, when Cromwells shippes are unserviceable, they lose a good oportunity, and we feare Flanders may be in danger this winter and next summer. I heare of noe commissions granted here to take prizes. Methinkes His Ma^{ty} should send to haue liberty for those at Brest to haue a port here; and there are no more in Zealand attendinge liberty. Such motions may y^e soner induce them to giue fre ports. Sir, I am most hearty glad yow haue discovered a spy amongst you. He can certainly discouer more. Sir Thom. Rokeby went on Sunday morning to the Prince of Condé. He expectes to be here to night. If he write not this night, he desires to be excused to Coll. Blake^a

Your most humble and most faithfull seruant,
MAR. LANGDALE.

H. MANNING.

Eg. 2542,
f. 217.

Most HON^{ble} Sr,

Having sad rumoures of a suddein end intended me; nay too morow morning, I from y^e bottome of a Christians heart and a dying man humbly craue you would once more trye his most gratious Ma^{tie} Sir, I pray be charitable herein and, thoughte

^a Probably Col. Thomas Blagge or Blague (vol. ii. p. 242).

itt be late, speake with his Ma^{tie} this night, if itt be intended so soone 1655.
 in y^e morning. For God sake haue pittie on my condicion and vse
 what you may to incline his Ma^{ties} heart to some mercey towards me.
 I shall doe any thing his most sacred will shall thinke fitt to
 comande, and, if soe be my crimes cannot haue or find pardon, I
 humbly offer in view my fathers death and y^e sad condicion of my
 ruined mother and family may be thought on with that mercey as to
 permitt me to lead my dayes in some cloister or dungeon . . .

Your honours lost seruant,

HE. MANNING.

14^o xbris, 1655.

EARL OF NORWICH.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Antwerp, Dec. 14, 1655. f. 588.

Not hauing had any letters from any of you by the last post, and
 hauing written soe fully as I did in the two former to the chancellor
 and yourselfe, praying y^t one might serue you both, I haue nothing
 more to say vpon y^t subiect of his Ma^{ties} comming nearer these
 parts till Sir H. de Vic shall first haue had the Count Fuensal-
 dagne's answer to his propositions, vppon which I suppose his Ma^{ty}
 will ground his resolutions, though I am one of those y^t beleue
 there is another *remora* in the way then that which I will not
 dispute but humbly submit to better judgments and begg that I
 may be forgiuen my former rash aduise wherein I soe persisted,
 promissing neuer to presse y^t point more, though I cannot as yet
 repent my selfe of it, knowing how infinitely advantageous his Ma^{ties}
 personall pressence would be heere in this nick of coniuncture.

I prayd his Ma^{ties} dexterous faythfull vigilant seruant Jamot to
 goe to Bruxells and there to try by a letter of credence I gaue him
 to try if by some authorised officer there he could procure Doctor

1655. Jey^a and his papers to be seazed on and examined thereon, for doubtlesse he hath had his finger deepe in this villayne Manning his beloued nephew, as we haue great reason to beleue by seuerall examinations we have made where he lay and with whome he conversed. To morrow Jamot returns, by whome we shall know more then this inclosed from him yet could produce. 'Tis wonderfull the villany Manning hath donne to our Chancellor and Collonell Rich. Talbot, Dungen and others,^b whoe, they say, are now clapt vpp agayne, of all which these next letters will say more. I haue soe great a cold as I cannot hould downe my aking head to write on as I intended and therefore heere end, as my good ladyes my beloued supports and your owne all vowed to the death

NORWICH.

I had last weeke a long answer of an ould date to the letter you sent in yours, wherein he expresseth infinit loue and vallew of you, but much sence of being refused to attend his Mat^y this way, where he would not haue bin in the least kinde troublesome to him. I am sorry I cannot yet finde y^e letter to send you, for it had many hints of importance in it. What heare you from France concerning the Queene and Duke of York? The Spaniard formalizeth shrewdly vppon my Baronesses going into France, wherof I thought it not amisse to giue her a tuch by Mons^r Hemvliet, whoe wrote most kindly to mee.

^a A "George Jay, minister," married Martha Manning, at St. Bride's, London, 2 Apr. 1649. Col. Chester (*Westm. Abbey Reg.* p. 155) identifies him with Geo. Jay, Prebendary of Lichfield in 1632, who died Dean-designate of Peterborough in Nov. 1661.

^b Col. Talbot and Robert Dongan, with others, were arrested on 22 Nov., but, after examination by Cromwell in person, contrived to escape, and found their way back to the Netherlands early in 1656 (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. pp. 68, 81, 82, etc.). They were suspected, perhaps with justice, of a design on Cromwell's life.

JOSEPH JANE.

1655.

RIGHT HO^{ble},Hage, 14 10^{br} 1655.

I have your 10 instant ^a and beleeeve soe much the truth of Dolemans report that the English are still att Jamaica, for since the report of the Sp. Amb. was printed there came nothing to second that report, and I am told that in the books of last weeke, which I sawe not, there are letters from Barbada y^t speake of supplyes gone to them, and all here speake that the preparations in England are very great, soe as the Sp. will not want provocation. And if wee may make an estimate what Cromwell will doe by his former proceedings, he may proceede with greater violence after such a blowe as he hath received, though his wants may perswade him to peace. But he hath great hopes of opening a way to the Indies to be more then ioyntenant with the Spaniard, being above him in fleets. I heare nothing of fact from the Sp., but there is talke that there wilbe a warr, though there is little appears of the Sp. part. I was told, but cannot depend on it, that the Venetian Amb. offred Cromwell on behalf of his republ. that they might interpose for peace with Spaine, but Cromwell reiected it, and the report of the English books is that they have taken a Spanish prize or two, and I am told that Neuport writes of more, and one in whome were men commyng for Dunkirke.

f. 589.

If y^e thinke it of advantage, I shall willingly labour in some observations on Cromwells Declaracions. That which must make them of vse is dispersinge and translatinge, and this latter will pay for the doing of it selfe. I heare the M^{rs} here thinke much of addresses to the Swede; some say he hath taken or besidged a towne belonginge to the El[ector] of Br[anden]burg. It cannot be expected that the nobility of Poland would make themselves a conquered people, though they are thus for the present surprized; but its strange that the German princes stand thus at gaze when

^a For this letter see *Cal. St. Pap.* 1655-56, p. 49.

1655. their country is, as it were, beseiged. I heare nothinge of those English that are reported to be landed in Zeland and beleewe it not, though I am perswaded that seamen in England grow very scarce and such as are vnwillingly serve them, findinge themselves deluded of their expectacions. Wee were in great attention on their letters from Colen that the spye would have contributed something to the expiacion of his fault by discovery of the wayes and persons vsed in this false trade, but it seemes he hopes to escape and then may stand ill with Cromwell if he lett fall any thing to his disadvantage here. Mr Stones adversary^a hath beene guarded here, but you suppose rightly it was not soe streight as Mr Stone, though I cannot impute the hardnes vsed toward Mr Stone vnto the Dutch, but to those that in regard of country and other considerations might have more gently treated him. I heare Mr La Meire now keepe his chamber on his word not to stirr. I heare you are like to have another customer shortly with you, Capt. Griffith.^b I perceiue he is confident to come where the Kings party are, which I thought he would not have done, considering the talke that went of him, and its like he wilbe noe lesse when he comes to you. . . .

Your honours faithfull servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

^a This refers to a quarrel between Stone and one La Mere, of which the Queen of Bohemia gives an account in a letter to Nicholas of 1st Nov. (*Archæologia*, xxxvii. p. 237). To prevent mischief the Queen had Stone arrested, but he escaped to Cologne.

^b Capt. John Griffith, with "little Mr. Griffith, who served the Duke of Gloucester," was forbidden the Court at Cologne on the ground of intimacy with Manning, the spy (Letter of Sir E. Nicholas, 25 Dec. *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 74).

GEORGE LANE.

1655.

RIGHT HON^{ble},

. . . . I confesse I haue beene very cautious in all my discourses since my coming from Cologne, as well towards those of our frends as strangers, and carefull that nothing should fall from mee whereof any advantage might be taken. Yet I was as industrious as a silent person could be to informe myselfe of the affections and humours of all people in relation to his Ma^{ties} service; and truely I could not wish for better affections then I haue found in the generallity of the people of Flanders where I have beene, their desires being very earnest to haue his Ma^{tie} amongst them, and the most iudicious that I haue mett with iudgeing it impossible for the King of Spaine to wage a warr with Cromwell without heartyly embracing His Ma^{ties} quarrell and interest, or to make any peace with him, now that he is entred into a strict allyance with France, notwithstanding any endeanours that may be used by the ministers heere to effect it. I haue heard since my coming hither that Don Alonso de Cardenes hath freely declared that they were in noe expectation of an accomodation with Cromwell, soe as I hope the next courier from Spayne will bring them orders to be more free with his Ma^{ties} Ministers in order to his remoove into these partes then perhaps they dare or can be till then, vnless they haue a hope to worke a diuersion and soe secure Jamica and Flanders too by the insurrection of some party in England against Cromwell. It is very probable that Don Alonso may haue driuen such an intrigue in England when he found there was noe dealeing with Cromwell, and, if he did, it is forty to one that Cromwell vsed some artifice to put it into his way purposely, to diuert his M^r from a dependance vpon or iunction with his Ma^{ties} interest and party and to defeate the King of Spaynes hopes by an accomodation with the discontented party in the end. But I hope Don Alonso hath had sufficient experience of his practises of this kind, and that he will confesse that the Kings party is not soe despicable as may

f. 591.

1655. be insinuated by Cromwells instruments, whereof doubtless there [are] many very active on this side to amuse and perplex their resolutions.

It is a most fortunate discovery of Mannyng at this nick of tyme, when Don Alonso himselfe has pretended that he knew his Maties greatest secretts were revealed. My Lord of Norwich will giue you an account of the imployment of Lieut. Coll. Jamott to Bruxells to secure Doctor Jay, who is beleeuved to be an accomplice of that horrid miscreant, he haueing been diuers tyme privately with him and declareing that Manning had sold an estate of 700 pound a yeere, when anybody made a wonder of his haueing soe much mony as he expended. I beleue you will heere of Jamotts successe from Bruxells; realy he is a very discreete and loyall person and allwaies very ready and fitt to serue his Matie and therefore deserues all possible encouragement. I hane a letter from Dunkerque of the 9th assureing mee of the imprisonment of Coll. Halsey, Coll. Talbott and Robin Dungan, that Cromwell hath giuen 60 letters of mark against the Spaniard, that he is raising horse and foote, payd the fleete that hath been last abroad to a groate, and makeing reddey a fleete of a 100 shippes of warr.

Your most obedient son and humble servant,

GEO. LANE.

Antwerp, 14 Dec. 1655.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

f. 593. RIGHT HO^{ble},

A journey I made the last weeke to the Co. of Fuensaldaigne then att Ate, from whence I am newly returnd, hindrd mee from writing to you by the last poste and acknowledg[ing] sooner the receipt of yours of the 10th and the little note that came with it. I will not faile to enquire after the person that is mentioned in it, whome

I thinke to know, and, if I am not much deceivd, I saw but euen now as I passed by in the streete. If it bee the same I meane I haue longe suspected him, and if I bee not mistaken it was from him I receiued once a letter to convey into England, which shewing to my lo. Castlehauen (for it came, it seemes, to my hands by a mistake) hee vndertooke to transmitt where it was directed, which to my best remembrance was to M^r Barrier or some about him. In exchange of your note I sende you a letter putt into my handes by a person to whome M^r Manning wrote it, which may serue perhaps for the discouery of another of his complices, it being, as himself hath acknowledged, writen with another mans hande, which happily you may know, for 'tis, as you see, dabted att Cullen. The gentleman that gaue it mee was not willing I should tell his name, as not desirous to bee any mans accuser, and therefore I shall lett him goe still under the name of M^{rs} Hanna Billingsley, but M^r Jackson, by which name the Kinge is meant, can tell I beleene who it is, when hee sees the letter. I cannot yet tell what to make of our busines here, for Co. Fuensaldaigne holds the same language to mee which the Archduke and D. Alonso de Cardenas did. . . .

1655.

Br[ussels], 16 Deeemb., 1655.

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Sir H. de Vic.

GEORGE LANE.

RIGHT HON^{ble},

Lieutenant Collonell Jamott returned from Bruxells yesterday, and I doe not find that he hath thought fitt to meddle with Doctor Jay, who, he sayes, seemed to be very much afflicted for the treachery of his nephew. But I suppose my Lord of Norwich will giue you a more particular account of his proceedings. He tells me that the ordinary from Spayne arriued at Bruxells on Wedens-

f. 596.

1655. day last, soe as I hope you will receiue some account of it from Sir Henery de Vic by this post, and that you will be able to giue me by the next your positieue advice how to dispose of my selfe. The Count of Feunsaldagne was expected to be at Bruxells last night, and from thence he goes to Bruges and to visit the maritime portes of Flanders, and to secure them against any invasion of Cromwells. The Marquis of Leda went to Dunkirque to secure his gouernement, as I was passing thorough Newport. I think I forgott to giue you an account of this in my last or to lett you know the greate impatience that all the seamen in those partes are in for his Ma^{ties} comissions, without which none will goe to sea, if his Ma^{tie} be permitted to graunt them. The reason some of them giue for it is, that by vertue of them they may take all Hollanders bound for England, which they cannot doe by virtue of the King of Spaynes comissions by reason of the peace with that state.

On Wedensday last my lord Dillon and I went to visit an honest Ulster priest, of whome you haue heard by the name of Father Patrick, and were receiued in the howse where he lodged heere very civilly by one Monsieur Gerard van Vffells, who hath the tytle of Chevalier Counselier et Comis des finances de sa Ma^{té} and expressed not only his owne particular affections but those of the generality of all these countrys to his Ma^{tie} and their wishes that this State would hasten to embrace and reuenge his quarrell. He said that his Ma^{tie} lay once at his howse at Malines, and that he hoped the next post out of Spayne would bring directions to Bruxells for the invitation of his Ma^{tie}, for that he knew there had beene dispatches written a good while since desiring the signification of his Ma^{tie} of Spaines pleasure touching that particular. He intreated me to present his most humble duty to the King and to assure him of his uttmost endeaouours to doe him some acceptable service. I think it my duty to acquaint you with the proffessions and desires he made that you may when you think fitt acquaint his Ma^{tie} with them.

Sir John Morley receiued by the last post out of England some

1655.

letters for Manning, which he opened and intends to transmitt vnto you by this conveyance. It is the expectation of euery honest person that I converse with that some course will be taken to ridd that villaine out of the way before Cromwell shall take any notice of his being discouered, least he should think him soe considerable, though but a spye, as to imprison some such person in England as he may conceiue to haue an interest to secure him from the danger of his life or to procure his liberty. I was informed yesterday that *Captaine Grifith and his kinsman who waites upon the Du. of Gloucester* were discouered to haue had some tampering with him, but doe not know what credit to giue vnto it. It is very reasonable to beleene that the fittest instruments for Cromwells purpose are to be made of such as haue entituled themselues by their former seruices and sufferings to some kind of countenance from his Ma^{tie}, and that he hath endeaououred and effected the corrupting of some of them is apparent. I presume you haue not beene without some suspition that *Maj. Boswell was one of those*, wherein you will be confirmed by a story I haue been told by *Mrs. Steevens at Dun[k]irk*, which is that, *Maj. Boswell* coming to London the last winter, as you haue heard, he sent to one *Mrs. Tuck*, at whose house he was wont to lodge formerly, to desire *her* to prepare a chamber for him, which shee sent him word shee could not doe, there being a gentleman in the possession of it with *Coll. Steevens*. Whereupon he sent againe to know who it was and was much offended because shee would not tell him, protesting that he would be revenged for it. Within a few nights after, the *Coll.* being absent, there came an officer and a guard to search the howse for the *King* and, when they had been in euery place as they conceiued, they went away, but returned presently after and searched in some corners which they said they knew and had omitted before. This gaue the *Coll.* the alarum, soe as he escaped. In a few dayes after *Boswell* comes to *Mrs. Tuck* and after an vnexpected kind salute tells her that he heard there was a search lately made in her howse, and that he was glad *the King*

1655. was not taken. *The woman* answered that he was neuer there. He swore he knew he was and that he had seene him come in one night, but would take noe notice of him, and wondered why shee should appeare soe strange to him, who knew as much of the busines in present agitation as any body. Then he desired to know where the *Coll.* was and what company vsed to come to him. Shee said he was gone into *Ireland*, and that shee knew noe company that came to him but his wife and one *Mr. Smith*. He was much displeased at her reseruednes, saying that he vsed to meete very often with the *Collonel* and that a gentleman, one *Moore*, which he said was *Coll. Desey*, came frequently to him in the disguise of a minister. This and the disguise which he had assumed to gaine her confidence made her confident of what shee had but suspected before, which was that noebody but he could haue informed the guard of those secrett places which had been searched, wherein he vsed to conceale himselfe when he was lodged in the howse and was in feare of being surprised. Be pleased to acquaint my lord Lieutenant heerewith and to keepe this advertisment in as narrow a roome as may be, to preuent any preiudice to the *woman*, who protested shee would prove all these particulars to the hazard of her life, if need should require, and acquainted *Mrs. Steevens* with them before her coming out of England.

I am, etc.,

Antwerp, 17 Dec., 1655.

GEO. LANE.

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

f. 601. HON^{ble} S^r,

Bruxells, 20th Decemb., 1655.

I can ad nothinge to that I formerly writ. They goe on slowly here and shortly they will be satisfied what they must rely upon. I beleive that designe is nere upon execucion ; as that prospers, so

I suppose they will regulate there affaires. In the interim his Ma^{ty} must giue all satisfaction to the Pope for feare of his enemies preualinge there, who, although he be altogeather taken up with the affaires of Poland, yet be assured the Kinge of Spaine will do nothinge for our Kinge but by the Popes aduice and consent. Thre weekes more may perhappes affourd other newes to be sent you from

Your most humble and most faithfull seruant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

SIR ALEXANDER HUME.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Hage, $\frac{20}{17}$ Dec. 1655.

f. 602.

By yours of the $\frac{7}{17}$ it seemes you had yet no intelligence of what is written to the States either by their ambassadour Boreel or by another ordinary correspondent of theirs at Paris, that the king of Spaine hath now resolved to take the King our maister by the hand and hath sent, or is forthwith to send, to invite him into Flanders and hath giuen order to make ready 25 great ships at Dunkirk to be sett out with his Ma^{ties} colours and under his commission. One of the two correspondents writes likewayes of a combination made between France and Cromwell for the subduing of all the Spanish provinces of the Low Countries, with articles for the deuision of the whole cuntries between them. I haue enquired touching that report you heard of Cromwell's desiring the conjunction of this state against Spayne, but can learn nothing of it; nor doeth it seeme probable, if he hath made such a capitulation with France for the vantage of the cuntry, that he will call in this state to have a share, and it concernes them much rather to oppose that designe, if they can or dare

Her Highnesse continewes in her purpose of the French jorney, and shee tells me shee hopes her brother the Duke of York wilbe permitted to stay so long as shee may see him there. But some

1655. others ar of another opinion, and some ar in doute of the Queen's owne staying at Paris, which may seeme to giue cause to doute the certainty of our journey thither. A few weeks will clear us of all

Your most affectionate humble seruant,

A. HUME.

JOSEPH JANE.

f. 604. RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 21 10^{ber}, 1655.

I have your 17^a and beleeeve that the vnseasonable slownes of the Spaniard proceeds from his hopes of peace, and whence they proceede wee yet see not. I beleeeve that the Spaniard may be easily perswaded that a peace is for Cromwells interest and that may strengthen his beleefe, though severall that have come out of England report that nothinge there looks like peace. My opinion is that the importunity vsed on the Kinges part to the Spaniard noe way hastens his approaches to the Kinge, but rather retards them; and I see noe cause to retract what I thought, that our hast thither cannot any way advance our busines. I know not what to say to the Levellers hauing an Agent in Flanders, and if there dependance be vpon a designe on Cromwells person, I thinke it more likely to proceede from some Papists who have hopes of like consequences for themselves as the Levellers have, and many of them follow the Kinges busines with such an expectacion. And the opinion that Don Alonso hath of the Kinges party may incline the Spaniard to thinke that Cromwell may iudge a peace very seasonable for him, but its now generally beleeeved that there is some very strict leauge betwene Cromwell and Swede against the house of Austria, which by what hath past is most likely; for though Cromwell have noe animosity against the house of Austria, yet the West Indies would

make him firme and formidable and in order to that he may strengthen Sweden. I shall, God willinge, as soone as I can gett the Declaracions of Cromwell, make an essay and send it you. That which concerns the Cavaliers is only of vse in England. 1655.

Wee are told here of the successe of Swede against the El[ector of] Br[andenburg] and some say the consequence is little lesse then a conquest. There are great apprehensions here of it, and I perceiue there is a great turne here, for they see Cromwell is like to prove their ruyru. Their Ambassador Newport in the begining moved Cromwell touching the Swedes proceedings, that the interest of Holland might be preserved, and then Cromwell told him it was a great busines and to be considered of. Since he moved him vpon the successe in Poland, and now the answer is that the interest of religion will not permitt Cromwell any way to hinder the proceedings of Swede. This answeere hath very much incensed the townes here and they beleeeve themselves cheated and designed to slavery. I heare Cromwell either hath or will offer the Dutch to enter into the leauge against the house of Austria, which I doubt of, for that is palpably against their leauges in being; but its most probable, if Cromwell and Spaine differ, the Dutch and he cannot long continue friends. The whole busines turnes vpon the resolutions of Spaine, which I thinke may be the slower for the great necessityes they are in. Your former letter had Sir W^m Munson,^a which I thought was insteede of Sir John as now you write. I wonder I heare noe more that vse his arguments, nomber being likely to worke strange effects in these cases, as experience hath shewed us.

^a The allusion is to a passage in Nicholas' letter of 7th Dec. (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 50), telling how "Sir John Mounson" had told Whalley, the Major Generall, at a meeting at Lincoln, "that he had compounded formerly at a dear rate, that the Act of Oblivion freed him, and that having ever since his commission submitted to the Government, he conceives it very unjust to demand anything from him, and that he would pay no more taxes." This was Sir John Monson, 2nd Bart., of Carlton, co. Linc. He was imprisoned in his own house for his contumacy, but was discharged on 22 Jan. 1656-7.

1655. Its certeyne the townes here, finding their mistake of Cromwell, are much altered in their opinions of the Cabinet governments, who are reported by some to have endeavoured to strengthen themselves with the Pr. of Nassau and thereon the busines of the generall officers was driven very farr, but the designe being discovered, its said there is a stopp in it. I heare you have the knot of it sent to Colen, wherein there was an endeavour to have fortified the exclusion of the Prince of Orange. I know not what iudgment to make of it, not seeinge the penning of the propositions, which they saye were done with some finesse. The French journy still holds with great vehemeney; I wish it might receive some stopp, for it cannot be profitable. I heare the Q. hath written to Sr Ch[arles] C[otterell] touching Mr Stone, that he shalbe secured against any preiudice for his escape. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

EARL OF NORWICH.

f. 606. MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Antwerp, Dec. 21, 1655.

Yours of the 17 cam safe to my hands, for which I heere returne you my most humble thanks, beseeching you to present my hearty respects to my Chancellor and communicat this, though not of much waight, to him and he shall doe the like to you by the next, fer really I am not now able to write as I haue donne. You haue heard, I doubt not, ere this of Duke Charles of Lorrains treaty concluded betweene the K. of Spayne and him, and y^t he was within few days to comme to Madrid and there to christen what God should please to send y^t Queene, being ready to be deliuered. It is high time for his Catholick Ma^{ty} to looke about him and draw all his strength to him, for this league betweene France, Sweade and Cromwell will put him and the house of Austria to it beyonde

what euer yet was attempted against them. And of this I haue 1655.
 within these very few days had such a discourse with a gentleman
 y^t cam from London Satersday last was seuenight as he informs
 me in what I had heard before, y^t for the facilitating of this theyre
 dessigne the States of the United Provinces shalbe imediatly put
 to it, whither they will declare for them or not, for noe neutrality
 will be permitted to them nor the Duke of Brandenbourghe. I
 finde that Spayne hopes well y^t they will rather ioyne with the
 Emperour, Spayne and Denmark, which if they doe and take in our
 master timely and roundly, we may perhaps cutt them out other
 manner of work then those gallants are aware of. The Bishop of
 Bourdeaux^a with all his flecte is hastning all he can to ioyne with
 Cromwells for soe suddayne and great attacque on Flaunders or
 perhaps on the Iland where Flushing and Midlebourgh stand in
 case those States comme not in betimes. And I pray remember
 what I tell you.

But all this while I heare nothing of what the Count Fuen-
 saldagne sayd to Sir H. de Vic. Had his Ma^{ty} comme without
 sending to them till he had bin within theyre quarters and then
 haue aduertised thereof, being aduertised from his servants in
 England how highly it imported him to get nearer y^e sea-side
 at that present coniuncture and how essentially aduantagious
 it would be for his Catholique Ma^{tyes} seruice as well as for his
 owne, I haue every day more cause then other to beleue it had
 n far better then as it is, especially considering with what im-
 pence his good subiects in England expect to heare y^t his Ma^{ty}
 re uppon his wing and there where he may negotiate himselfe.
 why touch I this string agayne? I have donne. The villayne
 uning was cause of Halseys, Dick Talbots and Robin Dunghens
 ing. Talbots eldest brother is released agayne. He wrote alsoe

^a The Archbishop of Bordeaux at this time was Henri de Béthune, but what he
 to do with a fleet is a mystery. His predecessor, however, Henri d'Escoubleau
 urdis was at the head of the French marine (see his *Correspondance*, 1636-
 10 ed. E. Sue, 1839).

1655. of my being sent from Collogne to Dunkerk and went to Liege to see what he could discover there of Father Babthorps going to Rome. My Lord Andruer^a is returned from England last week and gone for Bruxells. Since his Mat^{tye} defers his coming this way soe long, if I can possibly get any monny, I shall (now I have with much ado got one warme sute of clothes) returne to Collogne agayn, for God he knows what a delight it is to me to be neare his person; but in the meane time I must slipp out of y^e way till recruits comme. Howsoever, if you and my chancellor shall please to write to me, they being directed hither "A Monsieur van Postell, Archer du Roy, rue St Jacques," they will soone finde me whersoever I am. In England it is feared y^t the Cavalier party being disarmed, wilbe suddenly massacred. If it had not bin for Lawrence, now president of y^e Councell,^b it had bin done before and then it was only carryed to the contrary by one single voyce. This weeke all Kent is to be assembled (I meane those suspected to be Cavaliers) and to be taxed the tenth part of all they are worth. Your deare friend the Lord Manchester complaynes and sayes that they will not let him live in peace. What pitty it is! And soe, my deare Secretary, I kisse your hands and rest,

Your faythfullest humblest servaunt,

NORWICH.

JOSEPH JANE.

609b. RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 24 10^{bre}, 1655.

. . . There is one here that had lately a letter out of England

^a Charles Howard, Viscount Andover, 2nd Earl of Berkshire in 1689. He had a pass for Antwerp on 16 Nov. (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 575).

^b Henry Lawrence, whose appointment as permanent President of the Council dated from 16 Dec. 1653.

which sayes that Cromwell said the Cavaliers would make themselves a party and that he should soe esteeme them and destroy them y^t he could. Whether he were soe free to speake it I cannot determine, but doubtlesse he will doe it, if he cann. I heare Captayne Griffin^a is comynge to you, and some say what he did in England was by the kings knowledge; and I finde, though some suspect him, yet he is forward to come into the company of such as are most for the kinge. I receive now your 21, and besides 613 [Sommelsdijk] the whole court savours of the French, and I beleeve strangers may deryde the politiques of such persons. I was told that, though sufficient reasons were given *Pr^{cess} Rⁿ*, such as you Inencion and others, yet command was given y^t it should not be written to *the King nor Queene*. I believe St John is very base and cannot beleeve Cromwell hath any opinion of his counsell, which I may thinke grounded on feare and malice but not on any foresight. *Pr. Rupert* hath great influence on all the Statists of our Court and those of whose indgment I wrote. I could not gett the books, but heard of y^t Declaration and, if I cann have sight of it, shall doe what I cann to explaine it. I goe not yet to the Ambassador till I see somewhat of their temper, beleeving them very cold

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

HON^{ble} Sr,

Bruxells, 27 Decemb. 1655.

f. 611.

. . . . All my hopes of a warr betwene Cromwell and the Kinge of Spaine is in Cromwell and Mazarine. Of the league betwene them two and the Kinge of Sweade Cromwell will haue it alwaies in his power to make a peace when he will. Mr. Brooke's [Sexby],

^a Capt. John Griffith (see above, p. 206).

1655. I beleieve, is about this towne and hath had conference with the ministers here on Friday seuenight last, but the particulars I hope his Ma^{ty} will haue from a better hand. Marquesse de Barriere is not yet come from London as an excepted person. Some say upon his comminge away another will be sent under colour to redeme the Prince of Condees jewells. I beginne to feare a peace ; the Holland Ambassador labours it, and in case it cannot be had that state is resolved to engage with the Spaniard rather then Flanders shall be taken from the Spaniard either by French or English.

Here is a discourse that the Spaniard will set out a Declaracion in answere of Cromwells, but I se nothinge that tendes to other then accommodacion. I hartily wish, as yow do, an inuiolable coniunction betwene our Kinge and the Kinge of Spaine and both there subiectes. I am certaine there is no nation the English would better and soner comply withall then the Spaniardes. What will be donne time must tell us. Here is happily escaped Coll. Rich. Talbot from Whitehall

Your most humble and faithfull servant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

EARL OF NORWICH.

f. 614. MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Antwerp, Dec. 28, 1655.

Your favour of the 24 I haue receiued yeasterday, the letters not comming till then. I haue not now much to trouble you withall considering what I wrote last Fryday to M^r Chancellor,^a which your key was to vnlock. It is high time to resolue somewhat, but since

^a For a letter from Norwich to Hyde of 24 Dec. see *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 76, but this was written on a Monday.

you stay till these heere open themselues soe far to Sir H. de Vic 1655.
 as may giue his Ma^{ty} the encouragement he expects for his comming
 hither, I am affrayd we shall not meete heere in'hast. But the dye
 is now throwen, and by this time eyther the *King* is on his way or
 I shall (I hope) know y^e contrary from M^r Chancellor next Thurs-
 day, which only stays me heere to y^t end or else I had withdrawen
 myselfe to a more priuat place ere this, my heart as well as pursse
 being quite sunck. If there be good hands or hearts in England, I
 had it from the best of them by one latly comme thence that
 they would haue the *King* comme into these parts, though not
 invited, for it would quicken the Spaniard and reuiue them; but
 since yee are all of another mynde, Gods will be donne. I am sure
 you shall haue my prayers for the best and there leaue it, begging
 your pardon for deliuering my oppinion soe freely before it was
 asked, which was out of two principall respects, the one to doe my
 duty in the cleare declaring my sence in a busines soe neerely con-
 cerning his Ma^{ties} interest, and the next to avoyde some former
 accusations of my^e being sullein, which, next to being false, my soule
 abhorrs.

I heare not any thing of Manchinye^a marrying Cromwells
 daughter, nor shall it much trouble, but rather reioyse y^t we may
 haue more of that vertuous breede. But the stinging busines, on
 which all mens eyes and eares are most oppen vnto, is the
 league betweene France, Sweade and Cromwell, which alarms
 the Hollanders to the quick, especialy since the Sweads taking of
 Torne,^b the Elector of Brandenbourghs towne, and all his other
 [towns] admitting of his High^s garissons and associating them-
 selues togeather against Swead,^c which must make the Hollander

^a Philippe Julien Mancini, nephew and heir of Card. Mazarin. Two of Crom-
 well's daughters were still unmarried, Mary, who m. Lord Fauconberg, and Frances,
 who m. Robert Rich; they were both a few years older than Mancini.

^b Thorn, on the Vistula, on the eastern border of Prussia. It surrendered on
 24 Nov.

^c So in MS., but there must be some mistake. The House of Austria is probably
 meant (see below, p. 224).

1655. vnmaske himselfe, Cromwell now putting them to it. But of this you'le heare more ere long, when Piccolhominys^a army is ready to march, which is hastning by all possible meanes. My service to my beloued Lord Wentworth, whose really I am, though I now forbear to write to him, since I know what I doe send is imparted to him. And soe with my entire service to your good selfe, lady and my supports

I rest your owne,
NORWICH.

Aware spyes still in your court, of which I know you haue had the particular names, though I heare not any thing donne upon it. If busines be not better lookt to in Holland about the fomenting of ill will in the Nassau family, I forsee a storme, but say you, "What matters y^t what you foresee or foretell?" 'Tis true, and soe farewell.

JOSEPH JANE.

- f. 616. RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 28 10^{br}, 1655.

I have your 24 and now doe as ever hitherto I have beleeed that the Spaniard wilbe very slowe in takinge in the Kinges interest and that he conceives a lesse vigourous warr then that must necessarily be will doe his worke, especially by tyme, which may produce many accidentes and is not to meete with such difficulties in councell as thother resolutions must draw with it. I thinke, if Cromwell were gone, there would be great changes, both of sides and of councells, and the Spaniard may conclude he shalbe at more ease by it, but how far hopes of such an act may be given him I cannot coniecture; but this I beleeeve, that the Romanists

^a Ottavio Piccolomini, the Imperial general acting against the Swedes.

now set on for their owne interest and have their agents about the Spanish counsellis what way of proceedinge is best for those of that profession in England with reference to the Kinge. And its not voyde of reason that they will delay the Kinge upon conditions before they declare for him vnlesse enforced, and that only must make them any way helpfull to the Kinge, though the acts of warr betwene them may chance to doe him good, while they professe it not. In the meane tyme, they finde vs very forward and know they may have us when they will and know that our strength lyes hidden and is not to be produced till oportunites are offred. 1655.

Wee heare not that there are any prizes taken by those of Flanders vpon England and I beleeeve wee shall finde our impotunity unseasonable. I wish the leauge be certeyne against the house of Austria, for then the Spaniard wilbe necessitated without doubt, and it cannot be long vnbeleaved, being soe farr advanced especially in the French leauge; and I am now told, though I observed it not in the written copy I sawe, that there is an article of the peace with France that all the rebells and enemyes of England must depart the Kingdome by a certeyne day, and accordingly I heare the D. of Yorke is to leave the Kingdome. And I find here this country expect some difficulties and that they shall have some difference with Cromwell vpon this warr with Spaine, if it be not made vpp, and this I conceive is the opinion of Mr Rinswood. I know not yet what thothers thinke. There is nothing spoken here touching the attempts intended from France. But how comes the b^{pp} of Bourdeaux to prepare a fleete? I beleeeve that the Island where Vlishing and Midd[elburg] are is very difficult to be attempted. You have in my last somewhat more of the busines of Prince William then in the former, to which I cann add nothing att present. These laste prints I have not seene, but heare that the clergy are putt vpon great streights. I cannot see the booke. I sawe lately a relacion that Cromwell is seventeene hundred thousand pounds in debt and that he hath seized uppon

1655. the mony of the chamber of London, which, if true, may have good effects

Your honours faithfull and humble servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

GEORGE LANE.

f. 619. RIGHT HON^{ble}

. I am not at all surprised at the Majors release from his imprisonment,^a for I said as soone as I heard the story of him that wee should see him at liberty, whensoever he should conceiue that his way[s] to the prosecution of his designes weare prepared for him. The first parte hath, you see, prooved prophesy, but I hope he will be prevented in the performance of the later. I haue had 2 letters from Collonell Steephe^s^b since my coming from Dunkirque, but none in ansuere to the seuerall letters I haue writt vnto him since my coming hither, which giues me an apprehension of his being relapsed. When I was with him he was in a faire way to his perfect recouery. I find there hath been some discourse heere a good while sithence of the match you speake of,^c and that of late one Hungerford, a person of about 10,000 pounds a yeare, haueing been in treaty for a marriage with that daughter of Cromwells, is quite put off, after haueing brought it neere to a conclusion. This and the French Ambassadors soe suddaine departure from London makes that happy conjunction the more probable. I hope the House of Austria will looke about them

^a Probably Major Boswell (above, p. 211).

^b One of these letters of Col. John Steephens is in *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 78.

^c The marriage of Philippe Mancini with Cromwell's daughter (above, p. 221). Hungerford was, perhaps, Edward, son and heir of Anthony Hungerford, of Farleigh Castle. His brother Anthony became a Royalist agent about this time (*Cal. St. Pap.* 1655-56, p. 79).

betymes to preuent the ruine which is threatened by that conjunction and allyance of the French, Swede and Cromwell. It is conceiued the Hollanders are concerned likewise to giue a stopp to their current and that their Ambassadors to Swede and Denmarke are imployed for that purpose. I had rather that state had dispatched those wee heard they intended for Spayne, but it seemes they are dispersed vntill the moneth of February without giueing them any instructions at all. Some conceiue they will send none, because they haue made noe provision for their reception in the pacification. I hope what I heere of Cromwells dealeing with them to secure them from joyneing with the Spaniards when his fleetes are at sea to block vpp the Thames is not true and that, though there appeares nothing yet of any transaction betwixt that state and the Spaniards, that there is some vnderhand workeing for a good vnderstanding, which is certainly very necessary for both their preservations. My wife presents her most humble duty to yourselfe and my good lady mother, whose hands I humbly kisse, remaineing euer most heartyly and constantly, Right hon^{ble} and deere father,

Your most obedient sonn and humble servant,

GEO. LANE.

Antwerp, the 28th Dec. 1655.

I acquainted my lord of Norwich with what you commanded me, and he will, I suppose, lett you know soe much himselfe by this post, and that he hath not any intention to goe to Cologne vntill it shall appeare whether his Ma^{tie} comes this way or no. . . .

SIR WILLIAM BELLENDEN.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hamburgh, 28 Dec. 1656.*

Eg. 2536,
f. 119.

. . . . I am not much sorry that my heast hes not ben greater

* So in the original, but the endorsement by Nicholas is 28 Dec. 1655, and Rolt turned from his embassy to Sweden in Mar. 1656 (*Thurloe St. Pap.* iv. p. 645).

1655. to the King of Swethin, for ther is on calid Roult,^a nepuew to Cromwell and sent from him to that King. What he brings from that helich Rebell his wnkle is keapid uery priuat, bot so much I am informed, that the King of Swethin will condescend to any trettie that Cromwell shall propose, prouiding that the liues be spidely grantid which wer formerle offerid. Roult is usid with all ciuilate imaginable. Befoir that he had his audience of the King he was feastid by ceurall persons of qualety and presentid with horsis and other things that was conceauid might be of uce or of liking to him. Since his audience he heath ben still intertenid at the Kings chairge and heath on of his Maties coatchis and 6 horsis constantle to wait wpon him. It is thought that he shall retorin spidely for England with full satisfaction to all his demandis. 3 days ago I recauid a letter from a frind in the army, by which he shois me that by immediat order from the King Rowlt is wpon all rancounters and be all eminent persons to be used with all ciuilate and respect; and hauing giuen notis to this friend of min that I was on my way towards the arme, he doeth desir me not to make to much heast thither or, if I do, not to offer to com nier the King till that uillin be gon, so that I am in greater feares then hopis that the King will not be perswadid (as his affairs ar at present) to giue any priuat expression of his former kindnes to our maister. Whain I com nierer to the arme and do learn how with aduantage to procid in saruing our maister, be confident that I shall omit no thing that ather my reson or industre can offer for the good of his seruice. . . .

Your most humble and most faithfull seruant,

W. BELLENDEN.

^a Major Edward Rolt, son of Edward Rolt, of Pertenhall, co. Bedford, who married Mary, dau. of Sir Oliver Cromwell, of Hinchinbrooke (Clutterbuck, *Hertfordshire*, ii. p. 427). He was thus a cousin of the Protector. He left England for Sweden 1 Aug. 1655 (*Thurloe St. Pap.* iii. p. 708), and followed the King into Poland.

EARL OF NORWICH TO CHARLES II.^a

1655.

May it please your Ma^{ty},

f. 622.

I iust at 11 this day receiued your Ma^{ties} of the 28, when I was in noe smale hope to haue had the hapines to haue wayted on you nearer hand then now I finde it likly to be, which greeues me not a litle, and [I] haue just cause to feare it may much preiudice your present affayres in these parts.

And now giue me leave, Sir, to tell you that in all my life I neuer was soe much payned as not to be in a possible capacitey to wayte vppon your sacred Ma^{ty} at Collogne as you haue bin pleased to command me, not hauing of my owne nor knowing where else to borrow soe much as will convey me thither; besides the breaking of my heart to see how vnhapily you refuse the offers from hence, which as yet cannot come a more ouert way. I therefore most humbly beseeche your Ma^{ty} to pardon me and not impute it to ought else then to what I too truly aleadge for my excuse, being presently (since your Ma^{ty} commes not) to slip out of y^e way to Bruges, where I hope to meete one y^t may releue me in this sad necessity and disorder of, Sir,

Your Ma^{ties} all vowed and most obedient subiect and seruant,

NORWICH.

Antwerp, Dec. 31, 1655

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 31 10^{ber}, 1655.

f. 624.

. . . . I am told that, though the Spaniard appeare not att all for us, yet the letters that come from Flanders intimate suspitions of the journey of the Pr[incess] R[oyal] for France, and it was to be expected that, whatsoever their intentions were, their pretences

^a Enclosed in a short note to Hyde and Nicholas of the same date (f. 621).

1655. would have ground enough from that action to excuse any aversion they shew to us. If there be certainly a leaague against the house of Austria, they will not be able to temporize, but wilbe necessitated to turne every stone for their safety, and there are here who wish the Swede Emperour and thinke themselves statesemen, and I doubt its too much the affection of our Court, then which I thinke few things are more against our hopes. They say the El[ector of] Br[andenbourg] hath made his peace, and the princes of Germany looke like the Palatines of Poland, that will try the fortune of a change, and I wish such inclinations may have noe better successe then our state-botchers in parliament, that by their meddling have enslaved themselves and corrupted and vndone the people. Though Pr. Rupert be in the Emperors Court, yet his frinds like nothing worse then that house and would gladly see the fire brought againe into Germany. I heare the Swede demands of Dantzicke twenty hundred thousand Rex dollars, and its thought they will not deny it him.

I heard that Beverninecke talkinge with some sayed vpon the busines of Mannyng that the great spy was not discovered yet, which I beleewe was rather to gayne opinion of knowinge much and wishinge well then out of any evidence of reason or right information. The journey of the Pr[incess] R[oyal] for France is appointed the 28th of the next month, and the servants that intend to send trunks or other carryages have warnynge to have them ready by Satterday next, for then the shipp by which the Pr. R. sends her goodes sets of. I heard that the Queene wrot a letter to the Pr. R. to hasten her journey, for that the D. of Y[ork] is to leave France shortly and, if any Amb. come from Cromwell, shee must leave Paris and then the Pr. R. will not be able to see it, and better not sought vpon such termes. The Pr. dowager was with the Pr. R. in her bedchamber Wensday night and stayed longe and, as I heare, perswades the iourney very much and "Why should shee not see her mother?" The reason I formerly hinted to you: the queene writ a letter to the dowager

touching it and (as I heard) desired her to take the care of her 1655.
daughters estate, who shee was sure would be governed by her.
I see some have great confidence in the force of their applications,
and I beleeeve they to whom such addresses are made cann give
them hopes without frinds and are as fine in their receptions as
thothers in their offers. Many thinke nowe Pr. William wilbe
delayed, if not disappointed, in his prosequeucion of the place. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

COL. HERBERT PRICE.^a

f. 637

Sr,

There is one thinge that I haue omitted to write to any body but
you, because I know some would but laugh att it, and soe talke of
it as a ridiculous thinge, made of purpose to putt iealousies
amongst us att court. Therefore I doe earnestly intreate you to
acquainte noe body else with it but the King.

Watt Vane, when I was att the Hagh, told me (with a coun-
tenance serious and pretendinge great kindnesse to the King) that
all the Kings businesse was betrayed to Cromwell from Cologne ;
that one of the people of interest came to me [him ?] and told him
that there was such a time a riseinge to be through the whole
Kingdome and such a day they were to be vpp in Kent and
advised him by noe meanes to goe into the countrey, though with
all he sayd it would be preuented and that Cromwell knew all they
intended ; that he was told by the same person that the King was
to come from Collogne to be ready to take the aduantage of the
risinge and that the very day he was to sett forth was named,
which was the 4 and 14 of March, and this ten dayes before he did

^a In Price's hand, but without signature or date. It was evidently written in the
latter half of 1655, Sir Walter Vane having gone to Holland at the end of June.

1655. stirr. His Mat^{tie} can tell whither euer he proposed that day for his remoueall; and, if soe, he either makes this story or some of the little emisaries imployed that knew it must discouer it either by falshood or being deceiued by some of Cromwells spies vnder colour of freindship.

Coll. Cromwell^a likewise would needs invite me to dinner, and he made a long discourse to me of his integrity to the Kinge and the manny good offices he and his brother did for the Kings freinds, that it was theire businesse to serue him, which with all the power they haue they haue donne, and perticularly he attributes the saueinge of my L^d of Cleueland to himselfe and brother, that he is necessitated to be in England for a great suite in law that he hath there and must light a candle to the diuell, for, if he lost the suite, he were absolutely vndonne and beggered. He desyred me to lett the King know that he was his most humble seruant, and would ever be soe. He told me of Cromwells feares and ieaousies and great apprehension of the Army, that he hath notice of all that wee doe att Collogue, that my L^d of Rochester was knowne to Cromwell to be in England as soone as he landed, and that he was permitted to make those escapes of purpose to make him haue the greater confidence in those persons he communicated with, as he would intimate, of the Army, whereby Cromwell would learne allwayes what was to be donne, those being his freinds really, our in shew. I pray, when you shew the King this, tell him that humbly beseech him, if he takes notice of this to any body, that he names not the person that giues you this informacion nor those he had it from; the last is very scrupulous. I haue sayd noe thinge to my L^d of Rochester of it, because I know he would contemne it, and it is very possible it meritts noe better. I pray be iust to me in keeping it to your selfe and obligeinge the King.

^a See above, p. 43.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

1656.

RIGHT HO^{ble},Eg. 2536,
f. 2.

. The Pope and all Princes haue uery greate reason to dislike the treatie betweene France and Cromwell, but I hope the first wold not haue made it but in order to the making of the generall peace upon more aduantageous conditions, and that once attained that treatie will cease. Without such a motiue (the trueth wherof shall appeare in after effects) such a transaction cannot but putt a uery fowle staine upon the present administration in France. The Kinge of Sueden (I doe beleeeue) for the same respects, that is, in order to his interests and the pursuing of his designes without disturbance from the Hollanders, complies as hee doth with Cromwell; and it is neither impossible nor improbable that there is such a league as you mention betweene France, Sueden and Cromwell. Only I am sorry that they who are chiefly concerned in it, which are the howse of Austria and the Hollanders, are not sensible of it to such a degree as they ought. How farr the Kinge of Spayne hath made it appeare and makes shew to intend it further, you will haue scene in the constant accompt I haue giuen of my discoueries and obseruations upon it. And as for the Hollanders, mee thinkes it is no greate signe that they purpose to remaine in their wonted bounden duety and respect to Cromwell that they haue aduanced 3 moneths entertainment for 6^m men to the Elector of Brandenbourg, that they are preparing 48 sailes of shippes for the Belt against the next springe, and that they haue chosen Count William and Prince Maurice of Nassaw, the one to bee Feltz Marshall and the other Generall of the horse.

If I had a little more time, I wold discourse out a letter vnto you, there being nothing here of this weekes growth that can affoord matter for so much as a few lines of it; for I can giue you but for reports of which I will not answere for the certainty that the Co.

1656. Fuensald. should bee recalled for Spayne,^a though I know hee hath long desired it; and that they haue here an answer to Cromwells Declaration ready to bee printed, though it may uery well bee, because it is some time since that D. Alonso hath caused to bee translated into Spanish the saide Declaration, and some friendes of mine haue seene it in printe. The Pr. of Condé was expected here to-morrow, but 'tis now thought hee will pass his twelfth tide att Mechlen with the Princess. As soone as hee comes to towne, I will waite upon him.

This morning I receiued from Secret^y Galaretta the adioined letter from the Archduke to the Kinge in answer to his Ma^{ty} letter.

Br[ussels] this 3 of the yeare 1656.

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Sir H. de Vic.

GEORGE LANE.

f. 4.

RIGHT HONO^{ble},

. . . . I was neuer in greater distresse then at this inst^{ance} haueing now no more then will scrue to feede my famely this d^{ay} and, which adds to my affliction, my little Ormond is brought lowe with his teeth and my wife soe tyred out with watching a lookeing to him her selfe since the falling sick of her mayd that feare his life and that shee may contract a sicknes likewise w^{ith} taking ouermuch paynes

It is a greate astonishment to me, as it must certainly be to a reasonable men, that the Spaniards are soe slowe in embracein^g.

^a He was appointed Governor of Milan in February, but remained in the Netherlands until May (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. pp. 96, 129). His successor was Luiz de Benavides, Marquis of Caracena. At the same time the Archduke Leopold was succeeded as Governor of the Netherlands by Don John of Austria.

his Maties interests, since in all probability they will be constrained to doe it at length; for, though it be euident enough that they haue noe minde to the warr with Cromwell, and that all imaginable industry hath been vsed, and perhaps is still continued, for the preuention of it, yet it is as euident that Cromwell doth dayly giue demonstrations, both by his preparations and acts of hostility, of his vnwillingnes to haue any allyance with them. And it is admirable to me that it can be imagined that the agreement with France hath left him at liberty to doe otherwise. But I hope a few dayes will lett them see their owne errors and the necessity of redeemeing the tyme which they haue lost, and that the next ordinary, which arriues out of Spayne about the 20 of this moneth, will bring the ministers at Bruxells positieue orders to effect the good wishes which I heere they expresse for the conjunction with his Matie. 1656.

I went yesterday along with my Lord Dillon and Father Patrick^a to visit the Gouvernour of the Castle, who is a ciuill person and expresses a greate deale of passion and devotion to his Maties seruice and wishes much for his Maties coming into these partes, that he might haue the opportunity to serue him, which he said he ofld doo most heartyly in England with his sword in his hand. Further this discourse he asked me when his Maty would come. I of him I knew not, for that I had been at a distance from him. Ho^ut some particular affaires of my owne for seuerall moneths, but rei^{supposed} he, haueing a knowledge of the intentions of the th^{ministers} at Bruxells, might better resolue me in that particular th^{ich} depended vpon their resolutions then I could doe him. To th^{is} he answered franely that it was very true that he had heard of from thence that he was to come to this towne, and then he proceeded to informe vs of his newse which he had but lately receiued and was that there was 600,000 crownes transmitted

^a The "Father Pathrik M'Ghinne" mentioned by Peter Talbot to Ormonde, on 7 Jan., as being "very useful to the King" at Antwerp (*Cul. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 83).

1656. hither out of Spayne, payable by the marchants in the fower moneths of December, January, February and March, and that the Count of Fewnsaldagne was to be infallibly heere this night, to settle those payments and other affaires of the citty and afterwards to repayre to visit the maritime portes in Flanders and to secure them against any invasion. He added that 100,000 crownes of this mony was to be transmitted for leavys into Germany and that there weare 4,000 Spaniards and 3,000 Italians to be forthwith sent to secure these countreys, but that Cromwells shipp had lately seized in the Channell vpon 400 Spaniards, which had been sent before to recruite some regiments in Flanders, and that they were made prisoners of warr, which he said was an argument of his resolution to force them to a warr; which he acknowledged was not convenient for them, nor he belieued for him neither, but that, since there was noe remedy, they must defend themselves as well as they can. I haue only tyme to tell y^t Co^{ll} Richard Talbot came hither last night from Bruxells and that his escape was out of White hall.^a

Your most obedient son and humble servant,

GEO. LANE.

Antwerp, the 4 Jan. 1655 [6]

f. 6.

EARL OF NORWICH.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Bruges, Jan. 5, 1656. t

Vpon the receipt of his Mat^{ties} last Fryday inclosed in yours noe sooner in all humility returned him my too too trew excus within a uery short one to your selfe and my Chancellor (whos handes I heere kisse) but I imediatly got out of Antwerp hither

^a See an account of his escape in a letter of his brother, Father Peter Tallot, 4 Jan. (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 82).

1656.

where I arriued Sondag morning early, to avoyde the seuerall enquiryes why his Ma^{ty} cam not, as was generally expected, and more particularly by the writer of these inclosed, which I receiued since my comming hither, to whome I wrote y^t his Ma^{ty} cam not, soe soone as I found it to be soe by his Ma^{ties} owne, Mr. Chancellors and your letter. And this is all I haue to trouble you with all in the sad condition I see vs all to be, and not likly to change in hast, if we mend not our pace and add more hands to our work as well in Spayne as heere, to which I could say much were it to any purpose. In a word, Sir, His Ma^{ty} notwithstanding all this shall finde me as far from being sullein as false, when his seruice may receiue the least aduantage by my dilligence in his commands. And soe, with my best respects to your good selfe and all yours, beseeching you to let the Dame (my Dame) of my Round Table and all thereunto belonging know where I am, and in noe litle payne to be thus long separated from you and them,

I rest yours to y^e death,

NORWICH.

PETER TALBOT TO THE EARL OF NORWICH.^a

f. 9.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

Antwerp, the 30 Decemb.

I was called from thence by such an expresse command, and soe suddenly, that I had not the tyme to haue kissed your Lordships hands. I pray send mee word (if you can not come your selfe conueniently) whether you had any newes from Collen; and bee pleased to goe to the Jesuits greate house and call for Father Bolandus and desyre him (if hee hath receiued any letters for mee from Collen) to deliuer them your Lordship. If our friend hath not taken our aduice, hee hath prejudiced himselfe. I pray, my Lord, make as much hast as is possible, that I may dispose things

^a Enclosed, with the next, in the letter of Norwich preceding.

1656. heere according our desyre. My brother Dick presents his seruice to your lordship.

I am, my lord, yours,
PETER TALBOT.

f. 8.

PETER TALBOT to THE EARL OF NORWICH.

MY LORD,

I haue written yesternight, and doe repeate now the same. If it bee possible to come your selfe, I pray fayle not, as soone as you receiue this, in case you goe not meete your friend.^a If hee comes, let mee knowe when; and if f. Bolandus the Jesuit hath any letters for mee, let him deliuer them to your Lordship. If your friend comes not, let mee knowe why (by letter), if your selfe come not. I beseech your lordship to pardon my boldnesse and importunitie. I can not stirre from hence vntill I heare from you concerning yours friends resolution.

I am, my lord,

Your most reall and affectionat seruant,
P. TALBOT.

Brussels [*Antwerp erased*], the 31 of Jan. [Dec.], 1655.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

f. 10b.

RIGHT Hon^{ble},

. . . . I haue seene a letter from Ostende of the 2 of this moneth, which saith that one Jacques le Gouverneur (a great undertaker for the conueying of men from hence into Spayne and from Spayne hither), hauing had a shipp of his lying these moneths vnder the fort of Mardick expecting a winde for Spayne with 300 of these country souldiers in it, did att the length put,

^a Marginal note by Norwich: "The friend was the K[ing]."

to sea, sprunge a leake, and thereupon forced to putt into Torbay, was there arrested, the men putt in prison, and such goods as were in the shipp unladen. Another of this country hath beene also uery lately taken and carried to the Downes, the common mariners sent home naked, and the maister, with one or two more, kept and putt into prison. For all this, and that it is certaine that command is giuen in all the portes of England, as likewise to all men of warr, to take all men, shipp, and goods belonging to the Kinge of Spayne whersoever they shall finde them, and that those both of the Under and Supreme Admiralty haue made diuers consultations vnto the Archduke upon sundry complaints putt up vnto them of seuerall acts of hostility committed att sea by the English against the Kinge of Spaynes subiects in these countries, the Archduke hath gonne no farther in resentment of it then to referr those greeuances to the Counsell of State, who though they finde necessary to graunte letters of mart (*sic*) against the English, there is a forbearance of passing an order upon it until new directions from Spayne. . . .

Br[ussels], 6 of the yeare 1656.

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Sir H. de Vic.

GEORGE LANE.

RIGHT HON^{ble},

f. 12.

. . . . Mr. Loveing^a is arriued heere out of France by the way of Dunkirque and reportes that the Duke of Yorke is particularly excepted against by Cromwell and to leaue France as soone as Mr. Bennett returnes with his Ma^{ties} orders concearning him, and that all the men of warr at Brest are to shift for themselues elsewhere by a certaine tyme appointed. He sayes alsoe that it is one

^a William Loving, Registrar of the Admiralty for Charles II. at Boulogne (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 29).

1656. of the Articles ^a that Cromwell shall furnish the French with 25
men of warr well provided and 10,000 men at any tyme when they
should be call'd for, but vpon the charge of the French. It seemes
Sir Francis Dorrington^b is one of the excepted persons and to
leauue France, and that the Duke of Glocester may reside there
with the Queene for 10 yeares yet to come. Heere was a report
that the Duke of Longeville was gone from Rouen with a greate
trayne to Bologna to treate vpon a generall peace, but not con-
firmed. The Count of Feunsaldagne is stayed at Bruxells till
after twelfe tyde, and now they say he comes to-day or to-morrow.
I heare from the Haghe that Monsieur Hemflett and his lady doe
not goe into France with the Princesse and that the States are to
meete 20 dayes sooner then was apointed vpon some extraordinary
matters and that there is greate hopes there of a breach with
England, and preparations to send 4,000 men to the assistance of
Brandenburg. I am in greate want of comfort from Cologne. I
had not eaten yesterday if I had not borrowed by much adoe 8
dollers. This I protest to God is truth. . . . God help vs and
send vs better tymes. I am vnalterably and constantly, Right
Hon^{ble} and deere Father,

Your most dutifull and obedient son and humble seruant,

GEO. LANE.

Antwerp, the 7 of Jan., 1656.

JOSEPH JANE. >

f. 14. RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 7 Jan. 1656.

. . . . The prints import little, but it seemes there is noe
opposition to the new tax. It seemes they haue Commissioners

^a No such article appears in the treaty as printed by Dumont (*Corps Diplom.* vi. pt. ii. p. 121).

^b More properly Sir Francis Dodington or Doddington, of Dodington, co. Somerset (above, p. 125).

very ready to execute their commands, for their books speake how well pleased they are with Cromwells care and provision for the publique, and it seemes that all spirits there are very dull and rather suffer then adventure. Wee yet heare nothing of the Spaniards forwardnes to vs, soe as I beleeeve there are wayes left open to them. The journey of the Pr[incess] R[oyal] into France is resolved to bee on Thursday next, notwithstanding the sharpnes of the season and the many arguments vsed from the consequence of it. Mr. Henvliet and his lady stay behinde and Madame Howard goes with the Pr[incess]. They have voted assistance to the El. of Brandenburg, if it come not too late. There are likewise propositions for peace with Pr. William; I know not the particulars and therefore cann iudge nothing of them, but doubt that Mr. Hen[vliet] sees the vncertainty of affaires and therefore is willinge not to continue longer in a state of contention. But if Pr. William be chosen Felt Marshall on any conditions, he is satisfied; and whatever provisions be made against his seeking othor places, they cannot signifie much and change with the mynds and fortunes of men.

There is a particular paper, as I heare, touching the order of proceeding in Cromwells tax, that all men vnder 100^{li} a yere or ne value shalbe exempted; if soe, surely the busines will not be very great, and I thinke he doth it to see how it will take on the great men and then take the small after. Mrs. Mohun^a tells me that shée had letters her brother was not imprisoned now on this last committment. Some say the Swede hath not made peace with the El. of Br[andenburg]^b and that they of Dantzicke haue received forms from the El. of Br., but I thinke all is but coniecture. What the D. of Y. will doe is, I thinke, very difficult to advise, for he cannot follow the French interest against the Spaniard if the

^a Probably Philippa, dau. of John, 1st Lord Mohun (see vol. ii. p. 85). Her brother Warwick, 2nd Lord Mohun, submitted to Cromwell and renounced "Charles Stuart" on 1 Feb., 165 $\frac{1}{2}$ (*Thurloe St. Pap.* iv. p. 494).

^b By a treaty dated $\frac{1}{17}$ Jan. 1656, the Elector recognised Prussia to be a fee of the King of Sweden (Dumont, vi. pt. ii. p. 127).

1656. Spaniard breake with Cromwell and take in the Kinge, and it wilbe very doubtfull how he shall take any place from the Spaniard without assurance of entertaynement vpon all accidents. The death of the Jesuits in Poland I beleewe came from Colen only to this place, for I heard it not els, and they have noe great reason to blame the Swede for that action, if there were a conspiracy against his life, though the manner of their death were somewhat Turkish. I thinke Cromwell would more value the Swedes brother ^a then the Cardinall's nephew for his daughter, and it may be the Cardinall some of the Princes of France or Italie. I heare not how the Duke of York comes to leave France, whether it be an article apart or only a discretion in the Cardinall, for in the written articles that came over there was noe mencion of it

Your honours faithfull servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

f. 17. RIGHT HO^{ble},

. Besides the 300 Wallons mentioned in my former the English haue now lately taken 300 more Spaniards in their way from Spayne hither, which I hope will bee no hinderance to the aduancement of our des[i]res; of which I doe hope to sende you ere longe better tidings. They are arming a pace and uery strongly by sea in Andalusia, and S^{ta} Cruz with the other Amirante are upon that sett at liberty and to bee emploide in that seruice. It is in greate parte to secure the plate fleete, which is not expected vntil the next season. My Lord Lieutenant went from hence to Antwerp this morning, none of our nation in this towne knowing that hee hath beene here. I hope that his Lo^{ps}

^a See above, pp. 84, 221.

comming hither will bee of good vse to his Ma^{ty}s service, as you will see in his dispatch to his Ma^{ty}. The answere to Cromwells Declaration is not yet come out, but I doe beleue it is ready, because D. Antonio de Fuentes (the lawyer y^t was sent from hence to reclaime the Spanish money that was arrested att London) hath beene of late verry busy. But neither that nor any thing els will appeare against Cromwell vntil further order from Spayne, which is daily expected

Your honours most humble seruant,
DE VIC.

Brux. 10 Jan. 1656.

SIR ALEXANDER HUME.

RIGHT HONORABLE, Hage, 10 January, 1656, St. No. f. 18.

. Yesterday in the afternoon Pr. William's daughter was baptised in the cloyster church, where our Princesse and the Dowagere were Godmothers, and the Prince of Orange and Prince Maurice Godfathers. At night they had a very great supper, where there were invited Deputees of the States Generall and of the Counsell of State, and after supper there was a bale, which lasted till 3 a clock this morning^a By all outward appearance the misunderstandings that haue been heretofore between the two Princesses and between our Princesse and Pr. William seem to be layd aside, there being very great ciuilities performed on both sides. And I am told that in the fortnight's time that I kept my chamber the Princesse Dowagere and Prince William were each of them at diuerse priuat conferences with our Princesse in her chamber, shut up for two or three houres at a time. What the

^a The Queen of Bohemia gives an account of these festivities in a letter to Nicholas of the same date, printed at the end of Bray's ed. of Evelyn's *Diary*, ed. 1879, iv. p. 223, but dated a year too early.

1656. subject of their discourse was is not known, but supposed to be concerning the young prince's intereste and affaires. On Fryday last at night her highnesse with the Queen of Bohemia and most of the other good company in the town did meet at Prince Maurice's house, to celebrate the twaelth night with representing King and Queen and other personages, as hath been often heretofore done at this place ; where they were treated by a French cook at a pistol a head, and thereafter danced till 6 a clock in the morning. I did not see it, but they say they were all very finely habited, and I beleue the Queen of Bohemia will write the Duke of Gloucester all the particulars of it.

I am not yet able to giue you any account of the Lady Stanho, designe in declining the wayting of her highnesse in this jorney, but it is giuen out to be by reason of a vow shee made, when shee was last in England and her husband was dangerously sick in her absence, that shee would neuer parte from him again while they both liued, and so, her husband being now by her highnesses command to stay here for ocasioness much concerning herself and her sone, shee thought shee could not with a good conscience goe and leaue him here. Whither this be the true cause or some other hidden designe is more then I can tell, but time may possibly giue us more light. Her highnesse continowes stedfast in her purpose to sett out on Thursday next, if the wether permitt, which begins to be somewhat doutefull by reason of a thawe which wee haue had these two dayes, but so gently as it is not like the ice will be so quickly gone out of the riuers as to suffer any passage by water into Brabant for 6 or 7 dayes to come.

Your most affectionat humble seruant,

A. HUME.

MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

1656.

S^r,

Antwerp, 11 Jan. 56.

f. 19.

I haue giuen the King the best accompt I could of his comands, wherein you will finde that ether the Father^a is a most exquisite forger or the Counte a great desembler; but I am lead to beleeue the former out of the vnhappy experience I haue had of the Irish cleargy and for other reasons. The necessity of hastning away the person the King will send into Spaine is most apparant, as it is that nothing will bee done here without orders thence. You may tell mee there is a more ineuitable necessity that hinders it, but sure all-industry should bee vsed to remooue it. I haue sayd much to this effect to the Chancellor. That I haue bin at Brussells will be strongly suspected by all, though I saw no person there I knew but the Resident and George Lane, who found mee out on Sunday night; but if the Count keepe his own councill, it cannot bee knownen that I spoke with him. If I had knowen of the warr betweext the Prince of Condé and the boores on Roermond side of the Meuse, I had gon about to auoyd the danger of falling into the hands of ether party, whos feare of one another made them keepe together and the high way the more secure. I intend to stay here till I may heare my leters of this day ar receiued, and, if the King comand mee not to the contrary, I will find the Princesse Royall somewhere as shee passes by, according as I shall bee aduertised of her motions. If her day hould for setting forth, I suppose shee may bee on Saturday night at Breda and stay there all Sonday; if it fall out so, I will bee there also on Saturday and there take my leaue of her, leauing order for shuch leters as may come hether on Sonday to follow mee thither. . . .

Your very faithfull and affectionat humble seruant,

ORMONDE.

^a Father Peter Talbot (see a letter from him to the King vindicating his conduct, 7 Jan., *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 27). The "Count" is Fuensaldagna.

1656.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 11 Ja., 1656

f. 20.

I have your 4^a and 7, and ere now I hope you have myne . . . What you heard of Mr Benyon^b was a report strangely conceived there having not beene the least colour here for it, neither of goods nor person. The reporter hath beene very fruitfull in such productions heretofore, and I cannot guesse whence such fancies should come vnlesse he sometymes plott a Romance and then change the fiction into a story with the advantage of newes. I assure [you] that your man is very frolick abroade, and I beleeeve would be very merry with the relacion, which I am not bold enough to make. The iourney of the Pr[incess] R[oyal] is sayed to be Thursday next. I was told the Q. wrote her a letter that shee had received from the K[ing] her sonne to dissuade the iourney, shewing many reasons for it, and the Q. left the Pr. R. to consider of it, and sayed for her owne part shee beleeeved not a word of it. This I say for your selfe, for I beleeeve it will come to the Court by the first halfe. I finde here little hopes of the Kings busines, and thois that should give it life give it lost, and your Dr^c may chance meet little hast to returne. He that named the great spy was Beverward but Bevernincke, which perhaps my ill hand did not well write. I know not the meanyng and beleeeve he did not himselfe, though every one will intend him whome they love. I heare of noe Envoye come into the West of England, nor beleeeve any, but that the Spaniard hath hopes of peace I am confident, and vnlesse Cromwell have some strict leauge to the contrary.

^a For this letter see *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 73.

^b George Benyon, Gent. of the Bedchamber (vol. ii. p. 157). Nicholas had been told by Lord Culpeper that his goods had been seized for a debt assigned to a creditor in London to a Dutchman. He adds pertinently: "If such a course be taken with all the King's party in France and Holland, it would be a great advantage to the Rebels and an insupportable misery to us all who are in debt."

^c Dr. Fraser, who was to attend the Princess Royal into France.

1556.

feare he may incline to it, and having peace every where will with an army of noe great cost master all at home. I beleeeve that there will be peace made with Pr. William and the Dowager for the Pr. R. and sonne and Mr Henvliett, wherein sure the Pr. William wilbe noe looser. As I wrote heretofore, the Pr. William was ready to make frindshipp with Mr. Hen[vliet], but sayed there must be noe English about the Pr[ince] and therefore agreement impossible with the Pr. R. But I am confident now there wilbe and that councells here are changed, and though there is noe countenance against the Kinge, yet I feare his interest is very little weighed in transactions. In the busines of Mr Stone I beleeeve that the Q[ueen of Bohemia] was never knowen to doe such disobliginge acts as have passed about it, and its not strange that people in power with princes have noe shame for their m^{rses} dishonour, which is exposed to serve them. . . .

I never sawe cause for our importunity with the ministers of Spain, and in the thoughts I have hitherto had I ever conceived that the Spaniard, by his protraction shewing that only necessity of his owne affaires drawes him to our succour, cannot expect such extreame security as I heare some talke of. But there must be some offers of advantage in case of restitution I delivered your letter to 613 [Sommelsdijk] and finde his professions the same to you, but [he] thinks ill of Sir E. Hyde and that he doth abuse Sec. Ni[cholas]. Some thinke, as there was old acquaintance, soe there are new offices with the lady, and its very strange that, when things are soe clere that good cann never be expected to it f^r Kinge by the wayes some goe, yet that such as professe wellearnshes should be offended with others because they will not goe on against all the rules of prudence and piety. I sawe a letter from England that Cromwell sayed to a confident touching Pr. Williams lection that it would not be as was given out, and I finde some of my mynde, that those low conditions were offred him to disioyne him from his frinds. Its written further that Cromwell transfers the envy of this Act against the Cavaliers vpon Lambert and the

1656. Councell, that Lambert takes offence and refuses to intermeddle, that Fleetwoode comes not to Councell, and that Moncke refuses to leave Scotland and Blake excuseth his vndertakinge the fleete for his age. This I beleewe wilbe written to you; it came in a letter from *Sir Walter Vane*. Though wee have small cause to expect any remorse or discord from these villaines, yet this cause being of soe great consequence may putt a bone among them, for if Cromwell have an occasion when the cavaliers are not able, the others must, for there is noe hope of Parliaments. But tyme must try it. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

J[OSEPH] J[ANE].

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hago, 14 Ja., 1656.

f. 24.

The books of England bringe very little. I know not what to guesse of it, but that there is care taken that nothinge be devulged of his preparations or practises. I am perswaded that there cann not be an vniuersall quietnes vpon the new imposition, for, if it be, there is little hope where the spirits of men are soe sunke. I was told that there was some motion amonge the clergy to petition, which they approued not, but intended a remonstrance. If it be true, there is some signe of life. I beleewe there is some ground for it. I doubt Colen is not yet cleere of Cromwells emissaryes, for in their prints they speake of Manynges death and the place of his buryall named. I cannot learne that the El[ector] of Br[andenbug] hath made his peace. I committed an error in my last touching Mr Benyon, for in his absence there was an arrest made on the house where his goods were, which was suddenly taken of by authority. It was not spoken of that I heard before, and, as I am told, there is some order for the forbearance of arrests for debts contracted in England; but I think its not well

vnderstood, for I have heard them say that debts followe the person who is lyable, though in a forreyne land, which must be very inconvenient to the English, whose lawes soe much differ. Yet I heard yesterday that my Lo. Stafford^a being here arrested for debts of his father, possessing his goods, presses the inconvenience and, as he told me, the court intends to free him vpon that point. The weather hath hindered the iorny of the Pr. R., for the waters are not to be passed vnlesse there be greate frost or greate thawe; but shee continues very intent on it and thinks it the interest and art of others that putt the Kinge on the diversion of her purpose. If reports be true, her H. hath not the same esteeme of persons as heretofore. . . .

The books say the D. of Y. left Paris the 3 of this month and my Lo. Germyn with him. Most men now beleeeve the Spaniard hath hopes of peace, and I beleeeve Cromwell is willing of it, especially if he finde any doubt at home, and I heard that there is a discharge of prizes taken on both sides, but it comes not very confidently reported. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

J. J.

GEORGE LANE.

RIGHT HONOR^{ble},

This is to acquaint you that I haue receined your seuerall fauours of the 7 and 14 of this instant and deliuered your inclosed letter to my Lord Lieutenant, who commanded me to advertise you of his goeing towards you this morning. He lyes this night Breda and is convoyed thither by Collonell Gilbert Talbott, his

^a William Howard, Viscount Stafford (vol. i. p. 34); he was a younger son of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, who died 4 Oct., 1646.

1656. brother Collonell Richard, and Father Patrick MaGin. To-morrow night he expects to meete the Princesse Royall at Heusden, Mr. O'Neile haueing advertised him of her resolution to departe yesterday from the Haghe, whateuer weather should happen

I humbly thank you for the care you haue of that particular of the mony I had from Mr Fox, which was noe more then fower-score dollers, as I remember, but he will giue you a more certaine account of it when you shall find it fitt to move his Matie therein. I am much more troubled for his Maties wants then for my owne, which are soe pressing that, if I gett not some releefe one way or other, I must perish, for I can find noe faith heere, but must pay ready mony for euery thing. Hanniball Zeestadt and his lady arriued heere on Sunday night and yesterday morning he sent to know if my Lord were at leasure to receiue a visitt from him, but my Lord prevented him and went to his lodging. He reports that the passage twixt this and Cologne was soe dangerous that he was constrained to gett a convoy of twenty horse

Your most obedient sonn and most humble seruant,

GEO. LANE.

Antwerp, the 17 Jan. 1656.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 18 Jan., 1656.

f. 29.

I have your 11 and 14 instant. The Pr. R. began her iourney yesterday at 10 in the mornynge. I see that all they who dislike the Kinges present proceedings are much pleased with it, desiring (it seems) he may be disappointed in his counsell. If the Spaniard cann have peace, noe doubt he will, and I finde there are some from Flanders that write there is a dependance on the leuelling party, and y^t this opinion is nourisht by Don Alonso, whose politiques are that it were good England should be a republique

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and thereby the disposition of the people would be sett free to perpetuall divisions^a and, though at present the despotically government make it formidable by means of the powerfull levyes of mony, yet it would not longe continue soe, but faction would turne it vpon itselfe. But whether de facto the Levellers have any agency with him, or els he supposeth a possibility of it out of foresight, I cannot determyne; but that the Spaniard should defer his preparations out of such coniectures seems to me farr from that providence wee have heretofore imagined in the Spanish councells. This expectation of the Levellers is much like that wee formerly had of the Presbyterians, and I thinke them much of a temper; but if the Spaniards necessities drive him to take in the Kinges interest, he may not expect great securityes from the King, for, if he shalbe refused, he hath not where els to fortifie himselfe, and he may well know y^t he is knowen. What in my last I wrote of 613 [Sommelsdijk] I vnderstand not in that sence I finde you doe, but there was implied a censure of the councells that are trusted to, not a personall neglect, and I vnderstood the speech performed by *the good lady*, for I finde they would have other gouernours and its not soe much animosity to another as displeasure some are not in power. Wee beleeeve heere that there wilbe noe peace betwene Swede and Brandenburge, for the Dutch have disbursed a some of mony vpon two of the Electors townes, and I heare they are confirmynge their frindshipp with Denmarke. If the leauge with Swede be stronge vpon Cromwell, its likely there may be a vigourous warr and Spaine must fall in, for he cannot stay of (*sc. off*) the Empire in danger. Some speake here as if the Swedish army grew lesse dreadfull, and possibly this winter may shrinke it. . . .

Your honours humblést servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

^a Nicholas in his answer, $\frac{1}{2}$ Jan. (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 110), makes the same remark: "Though the Spaniards are generally great assisters of monarchy, yet they prefer England as a republic, because it is so contrary to the nature of the English that it would keep them embroiled in perpetual divisions."

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CAPT. PETER MEWS.

f. 33.

HONO^{ble} Sr,Hage, Jan. 20th, 1656.

. . . . I presume you haue by other hands heard of y^e arriual of Cap. *Breams* out of *England* and beleieue hee gaue a particular account of y^e state of affayres there to *Sir E. H[yde]* upon Tuesday last, at which tyme (beeing engaged to wayte on M^r Diggs, whom I left very weake) I could not possible write to you. The preparations for sea are greate, and though y^e Rebells discourse not in theire pamphlets of y^e forwardness of theire fleete, yet 80 ships are allready victualled and y^e press for men upon all y^e coaste will soone make them ready for y^e sea. It is talkd in *England* y^t y^e Spaniard will bee content to permit y^e rebells to haue a joynt trade in y^e Indys and to possess *Jamaica*; but, though I am not without my feares concerning y^t busyness, I apprehend y^t may bee but a bayte to make y^e desigue seeme more advantageous. The disloyall reports which wee heard concerning *Sir M. Hubard* are all contradicted by y^e captayne, but it is very strange to mee y^t hee affirms *Lo. Gerrard* was in *England*, when it is every weeke pretended heere y^t hee hath bin in *France* ever since hee left you, and I confess I can scarce thinke hee would attempt it. It is reported heere by one lately come out of *Scotland* y^t hee saw *Earl Glencairne* ^a carryed prisoner to y^e Castle of *Edenburg* by *Monkes* order, but y^e Captayne affirms y^t *Monke* is in *England*. I expect letters by y^e first opportunity from *Scotland*, which I am confident will giue mee the truth. If *L. G. Middleton* had not sprayned his legg, I presume hee would ere this haue bin with you, though I am confident all good men wish to meete you neerer hand. I presume not to say any thinge of y^e discourse of men concerning *Flanders*, som speakeing theire reasons, but y^e most their passions.

^a The seizure of the Earl of Glencairn was reported by Monck on 25 Dec. 1655 (*Thurloe St. Pap.* iv. p. 342).

The weather hath so much fauoured y^e Princess Royall y^t shee 1656.
 passd both y^e waters upon Tuesday, which was more then wee
 expected, and is thought to bee this night within a few houres
 of Antwerp. It is sayd heere that y^e Chancelour of Sweden is
 come to Koningsberg to treat with y^e Electour, and y^t these
 States would gladly bee comprehended within y^e Agreement, iff
 any bee made. What to judge of this I cannot tell, but I hope
 not only y^e Swede but all who are in league with y^e Monster haue
 more worke cut out for them by him then they are able to make
 up, and y^t yet there will bee a tyme wherein I may shew how
 forward I am to doe those things which may entitle mee to y^e
 honour of

Your most humble seruant,

P. M.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 21 Jan. 1656.

. . . . There returned one from the Pr. R. that reported her f. 35.
 entertaynement at Goreum, the townesmen in armes. Shee was
 past the rivers before the messenger left them, soe it is thought
 shee will haue a very good passage. I heare the D. of Y[ork]
 comes to meete her and the next month comes for Colen. The
 French letters that I have heard of bringe little newes. Its sayd
 here that the Cosaques and Tartars are ioyned with the Pol against
 the Swede and the Pol is in the army, and its the opinion here that
 the great careere of the Swede is somewhat broken. The Resident
 of the El. of Br[andenburg] made a remonstrance to this state
 from his M^r of the conditions proffered him by the Swede, wherein
 the renunciacion of the leauge with Holland was one, and that to
 my sence is very scandalous and not fit for a Christian Prince to
 propound the breakinge of leauges, and is a signe how little religion

1656. and piety are esteemed when such actions are seene at high noone where as they were wont to be the deeds of darknes and like secret murders and treasons y^t were plotted to the destruction of man kinde. And what is more destructive to humane society then breaking of leauges? Among other passages the Resident observed some scornfull termes vsed by the Swede of the Dutch of their impotency and vnworthynes, and that was very much resented. It seemes they proceede to fasten an vnion between the Elector and them.

In the meane tyme Cromwell proceeds with great rigour and imprests maryners and (and as I heare) souldiers in great number. I wonder the Spaniard should thinke it nothing to him, but stand[s] at a gaze, either through stupidity or despaire. I heare they say that a fortnight or lesse will trye what they will doe. This comes from Bruxelles, and I heare my Lo. of Or[monde] in his letter spake as if he had more hope then at his commynge. I heare he meets the Pr. R. and shee intends to drawe him a great way onward in her iourney.

Some report that in this great oppression that is now in England the tax is payed without any opposition, and I heare only of my Lo. of Northampton^a that is committed vpon his refusall and Mr. Thornhill; which is an ill signe that soe few dare suffer or professe themselves iniured in such an outrageous extortion as this is. Certainly, if a nomber had stoutly opposed it and prosecuted with clamour, it would haue drawn much weight vpon him. . . . Wee now growe very thin here and vnlesse the Spaniard be kinde wee are like to be very solitary, as well in our fortunes as hopes. My Lo. Stafford continues yet a prisoner here vpon debts due by my Lord his father and supposition that his goods subiect to theis debts are in this country.

Your honours humblest servant,

J. J.

^a See petitions from him to the Protector against the demands of Major Gen. Butler, with resolutions of the Council thereon in his favour (25 Dec. 1655, 1 Feb. 1656) in *Cal. St. Pap.* pp. 70, 154; but the report of his committal seems to have been a mistake.

COL. ROBERT WHITLEY.

Calais, $\frac{1}{2}$ Jan.

1656.

Since my last of y^e 3^d Jan., sent as this is by Zealand, I have received yours of $\frac{1}{2}$ Decem^r with y^e enclosed copy of a letter from Leiden concerning Manning, and should obey y^r commands in communicating it to my acquaintance, if I thought any one (with whom I converse) were soe concerned for him as to be vnsatisfied either in y^e point of his guilt or suffering. . . .

By y^e last from England they write that y^e fleete intended for y^e streights will consist of about 40 of their best ships and frigatts (except y^e Souveraigne); they cannot be ready to set sayle vnder 4 weeks. Blake goes Admirall in y^e Naseby; his Vice-Admirall Lawson in the Prince; his Rere-Admirall Captaine John Bourne (as is beleued) in y^e Swiftsure. They carry with them 8 months provisions; not yet concluded what land-men goe with them. It's conceiued there maine designe is to attend y^e comming home of y^e treasure from y^e West Indyes, whence as yet (as they say at London) but 2 ships, and those not very rich, are arriued. Those distressed people at Jamaica haue bin releiued with 7 or 8 ships of necessaries and provisions presently after Pen and Venables comming into England; 2 more about 2 months agoe went towards them, and now there are 5 other good ships (y^e Lyon being one of them) ready to sett sayle from y^e Hope, to goe with further releife. It is sayd that Monk and Askue desire to be excused from y^e West-India imployment, soe y^t it is conceiued (as I formerly acquainted you) that supplies shall be sent thither, as they can be provided and made ready, by smaller parcells, and he y^t was left Admirall when Pen came thence to command in cheife,^a though Buller and Cooper haue also bin named for y^t command. I suppose you haue heard how y^t 2 English frigatts and some French men of

^a Vice-Admiral William Goodson, who remained there in command until 1657. Col. William Brayne was appointed to command the land forces in May, 1656.

1656. warre (not knowing of y^e peace) had a hott dispute on y^e coast of Portugall. Since then it is sayd y^t one of y^e English was soe fowly shattered y^t he had been absolutely lost had not some Portugueses towed him in; they boast y^t y^e French Admirall was suncke.

It is sayd y^t Cromwell (either jealous of his life-guard of horse or intending to lessen y^e charge of 150^l per annum, which is payd to each of them) hath ordered 12 troopers out of each regiment in y^e army to attend his person, which will make up y^e number 96 and their allowance is to be 4s. a day to euery man. Seuerall persons of quality resolute to turne of (*sc. off*) all their seruants, to auoid the snare of those bonds imposed vpon them. Some of y^e Lords, as y^e Earle of Bedford,^a Clare, Lindsey, y^e Marquisse of Dorchester and 2 or 3 more, haue made such application to Cromwell that they haue got letters from him to y^e Major Generalls and Commissioners of y^e respectiue Counties where they are concerned that they proceed not against them as to y^e matter of security, not (as I take it) about their tenths. The Anabaptists giue Cromwell a perpetuall alarme with their bold prints and language. Y^e Roman Catholiques seeme more at quiet then formerly, as if they had brought their interest to a settlement. I am confident they haue great hopes of it, and y^t Sir Kenelme [Digby] is to manage much of it on y^s side of y^e sea, but who in England I cannot certainly learne, though y^e Lord Arundel of Warder hath bin named to y^t purpose. As an addition to Sir Kenelme's equipage, here is lately arriued a barril of oate-meale, 4 cheeses and a sack full of corke; y^e former parcells supposed for his owne provision and y^e latter to stop up some choice bottles for his master in England. I pray pardon y^e leuity of y^s accompt; it is only to obserue how much y^e belly is y^e businesse of some great statesmen.

^a By an order of Council, 20 Feb., the number of the Life-Guard was fixed at 1 captain, 9 other officers, and 160 men at 4s. a day (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 192). Whitey originally wrote "960," but the last figure is obliterated.

^b Orders of Council were issued for the discharge of Richard Sackville, Marquis of Dorset, on 2 Jan. (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 92), William Russell, Earl of Bedford, on 16 Jan. (*ib.* p. 117), and John Holles, Earl of Clare, on 19 Jan. (*ib.* p. 127).

The Dutch of late suffer very much by y^e French men of war and particularly by those of these parts, who bring dayly some Dutch ships in as prises, pretending y^t they were bound for Flanders; if any of them chance to be freed by y^e Admiralty here (as it but very seldome falls out), yet much of y^e goods be imbezelled (being instantly unladen upon their comming in) and much time and money spent in y^e reclaiming, which giues a great discontent to y^e Hogens. Besides, y^e last weeke, hauing taken a Zealander, as y^e master was showing his papers to y^e French captaine, one of y^e French men run him throw soe y^t he dyed instantly. Y^e man y^t did it is here in prison; y^e reason he giues is because a brother of his and some other of his companions are in prison in Zealand for hauing lately killed a captaine of that prouince. Y^e States Generall are aduertised of those things and it is beleiued it may turne their flegme into choller, though to little purpose as things now stand twixt France and England. I had almost forgot y^t Cromwell sayes it is an vngodly thing to introduce y^e Jewes; but, if he refuse y^m, it is because they refuse to purchase it at y^e summe desired unlesse they may haue y^e authority of a parlement for their being there with safety.

Sir, I am faithfully

Your most humble and obedient seruant,

R. W.

Endorsed by Nicholas, Coll. R. W.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

f. 40.

RIGHT HO^ble,

Upon Saturday last the Princess Royall came to this place, where I was according to her appointment already come to attend her. The next day, which was yesterday, shee sent mee to the Archduke to haue his consent to the going with her R. H. as farr

1656. as Valenciennes [of] the conuoy of 60 Caualliers which shee brought from Breda with her, to which the Archduke hath giuen way and commanded a Trumpett of his for to waite vpon her. As shee came by Mechlin, though shee stoppt not att all in that place, and since her beinge here, the Princess of Condé, who is att Mechlin, and the Prince from Bruxels sent a compliment to her, the first whereof Mon. Henuliet intends to returne as hee repasseth this day by Mechlen, and Mr. Syluius is already gonne to the Prince to repay him his ciuility. I write you this, being ready to take coach to waite on her R. H., who is desirous I should waite vpon her as farr as Cambray.

D. Alonso, whome I haue seene since my last, doth not acknowledg what the Irish father saide concerning the proclaiming of a warr in Spayne against Cromwell; but whither they proclaime it or not, they must in my opinion come now presently vnto it, notwithstanding the Venetian Ambassadors endeauors to preuent it and accomodate their differences. The States are much displeased with Cromwell for his refusing to acquaint them with the secrett articles betweene France and him, which Newport hath twice asked of him; as likewise that Cromwell will not declare himself concerning the King of Sueden. If Cromwell assist this last, I am confident the Hollanders will come ouer to the Spaniards, att least make a new treaty of Marine with them. D. Alonso told mee hee had made an answere to the Kings letter which hee meant to sende mee. Mon^r Henuliet and M^r Oneale are returning this day into Holland

Viluorde, this Munday morning.

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Munday, 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ Jan. 1658, Sir H. de Vic.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 25 Jan., 1656.

1656.

I have your 18 and 21.^a You vnderstand by my former the beginninge of the Pr. R's iourney. Noe doubt shee was much bent on it and did beleeeve those reasons offred to the contrary proceeded from 256 [Sir E. Hyde]^b and by what I cann collect will not impute any part of it to another, and by what I heare there is not the same predominant humour in y^t Court y^t was formerly. . . . Mr. Onele went hence with the Pr. R., but I beleeeve he returnes with M^r Henvleet, his principall busines being to meete my Lo. of Ormond; 230 [he] is very well acquainted with dispositions and, if a iudgment may be made from him, all looke to themselves and will not loose for any ones interest. I heare nothing of good from Flanders and doubt very much of an accomodacion, for surely the Spaniard cannot be soe desperately made to depend on the interventions of Ambassadors or those tumultuous vndertakings of the Levellers. Wee must leave all to God, who will give his what is best for them.

f. 43.

I beleeeve those that are left out of Cromwells list of proscription wilbe thought wise men and fittest for imployments of greatest trust, that could shape their course to avoyde all rocks while the plaine passenger is split. I am, as I have ever byn, confident the papists wish the Kinge noe good at all. I heard not till lately the condition of Thurlowe, that he had beene St Johns clarke,^c and, he being in soe great trust with Cromwell, its very likely his old master may have an influence vpon his counsell. I beleeeve the State[s] worke very strongly to keepe the E[lector of] Br[anden-

^a For this letter see *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 110 ; the other is not preserved.

^b Not deciphered, but so in key (Eg. 2550, f. 85). The other decipherings below are from the same source.

^c It was by St. John's interest that John Thurloe was appointed Secretary to the Parliamentary Commissioners at the Treaty of Uxbridge, from which beginning he rose to be Secretary to the Council in 1652, and Secretary of State under the Protector in 1653 (see Birch's Life, prefixed to the *Thurloe State Papers*).

1656. burg] from the accommodation with Swede. Its said by some that the Swede hath taken two townes more, which is very good newes in *our Court*, as if vsurpacions were very amiable things. You heare rightly of the preparations here, but not, I beleeeve, of the Pr. D[owager]'s sending to the Elector. I sawe in a letter that, though this fleete in England looke to the Indies in the preparacion, it may turne another way, and that agrees with your observation. 605 [Sir E. Walker] seemes to me not to be displeased, and, if he have his allowance, hath noe reason, that being beyond my expectacion I sawe a letter that the Swede by Cromwells means hath absolutely broken of the marryage betwene his brother and Pr. Sophia, and y^t Col. Moore was to tell the parties of it, from whom the intelligence came. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,
J. J.

SIR JOHN MARLAY.^a

f 46. Sir,

. . . . I should be glad to see the Kinge of Spaine ioyne with our maisters interest; for certainly it would much incourage our frends in England and elsewhere, who are nowe much delected. Besides, it might make some of the rebels party (who know themselves not out of hopes of grace and mercy) indeauour (in time) to doe some seruice, whereby to make there peace, least otherwise they should runne vppon there owne future ruine. But there is so many ends in this that I am affraid they will not all be brought together, and if they weare, the worke would be difficult. But I beleieue there is thre persons in England and one in Scotland that

^a Sir John Marley or Marlow, of co. Durham (*Cal. of Comm. for Compounding*, iv. p. 3005); he was Mayor and Governor of Newcastle when it was besieged and taken by the Scots in 1644 (Brand, *Hist. of Newcastle*, 1789, ii. p. 462). In June, 1658, he offered his services to Thurloe (*Thurloe St. Pap.*, vii. pp. 149, 313, etc.), but, according to Brand (ii. p. 489), this was really done in the King's interest. From 1661 till his death in 1673 he was M.P. for Newcastle.

1656.

might restore the King with much more facilitie, and I haue some reason to beleue they woulde doe it, if some such could be found out to treat with them as they would trust and had power from his Ma^{ty} to assure them of pardon for what is past and great profit and honor for the time to come. You haue named two of them in your letter, Lambart and Monke; the other two is Fairfax and Howard of the North^a This last, I knowe, is very intimate with the two first and haith commaund vnder Lambart of all the counteys from Tease to Barwicke, and I am sure he haith a great desire to doe the Kings Ma^{ty} some considerable seruice (vppon the termes before mentioned) and desires much to haue me in that cuntrey to conferr with him; and to that purpose (though he will not appeare himselfe) yet he haith imployd a freind to procure me a passe and protection from such debts as I stand ingaged for the late Kings seruice (to the valew of 1,000^l), and in case it cannot be procured, if I can but land safe in any part of England and let my freind knowe before whither I intend to come, there wilbe a man and horses ready to receiue me and conduct me where I shalbe priuate without daunger vntill it be fitting to shew myselfe. I shall knowe from my freind within two moneths what can be doonne, and I haue promised then to lett them knowe what I resolue vppon, and that I will not faile of what I promise, as formerly they tax me to haue doonne. Though it was not my fault, yet I haue much adoe to salue it and kepe my selfe in there good esteame.

I haue acquainted you hearewith that you may haue time to consider what is fitt to be doonne and refer it to your care and wisdom whou (*sc.* how) farr to acquaint his Ma^{ty} hearewith, being confident you wilbe carefull that no other know it; and I intreat to heare from you that this letter is come safe to your hands, and when you haue perused be sure to burne it. I take God to witnes my cheife ende and ayme is the restoring of his Ma^{ty} to his owne dominions, and I hope (though some please to valew me at nothing)

^a Col. Charles Howard, Deputy Major-General for the Northern Counties, created Earl of Carlisle in 1661.

1656. yet his Ma^{ty} will not despise me, for God is able to give a blessinge to honest indeauours, though to men they seame weake; and I hope you will continew your good esteame of, Sir,

Your humble seruaunt,

J. M.

Antwerp, Jenuarie the 25th, 1656.

Endorsed by Nicholas, Sir Jo. Mar[lay].

JOSEPH JANE.

f. 47. RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 28 Ja., 1656.

The Colen letters are not yet come; those of England have little or nothinge. I only observe that in an order whereby a Committee is made touchinge the Protestants of Piedmont John Crew and W^m Perepoint are named^a and some others that formerly on conscientious pretences opposed the proceedings of the state and sought the fortifications of common liberty; and by their practices nowe wee may see that they dare not oppose tyranny, but contend with lawe or lawfull governours. Theeffects of Cromwells orders appeare in their weekly diurnalls, which have soe little as they hardly weigh the postage. Wee heare of many committed in Scotland, whereof you at Colen have more certenty then wee can here, Glencarne, Montrosse, etc. Some beleeeve that the person imployed from Colen hath betrayed them; trust is very hard and therefore knowen integrity should be of greater price, for that will worke more effectually then those shiftes of witt that are soe much depended on, which somtymes signifie little, somtymes mixte with

^a See Proceedings of Council, 1st Jan. (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 100) Crew and Pierrepoint are also coupled together by Clarendon for animadversion on their conduct as Commissioners for the Treaty of Uxbridge in 1645 (*Hist. of Rebellion*, viii. 248). The former was afterwards an active instrument in the Restoration, and in 1661 was created Lord Crew.

fraude that makes them destructive. There is reason to sweepe cleane where the venom sticks soe close. The newes here goes very current that the El[ector of] Br[andenburg] hath submitted to an hard peace with the Swede, which much reioyceth our court. If it be as is reported, its very heavy; an absolute conqueror would not impose more. But though I am apt to feare those events, yet I see noe evidence of it, the Ambassadors reports beinge not infallible and the letters of Sir W^m Ballandon and some others that speake of a likelyhoode that the El. would have hard conditions is not very convincinge, commyng from persons engaged in the party, and if the El. putt in men into Dantzick and comprehend them not in the treaty, it were an hard condiscension, besides the renouncing the leauge with the Dutch.

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

COL. ROBERT WHITLEY.

S^r,

Calais, $\frac{22 \text{ Jan. } 55.}{1 \text{ Feb. } 56.}$

. . . . I suppose you haue heard a good while since of y^e f. 53.
imprisonment of L^d Glencarne. Y^e discovery and pruention of his
designes is attributed to y^e vigilance of Monke, though beleiued
rather to proceed from some old animosity or emulation of some of
his owne contrymen. Argyle continues his credit with Cromwell,
and great confidence there appeares betwixt them. The new
Major Generalls of England doe exercise theire commissions with
great rigor in most places. Butler in Northamptonshire carried
himselſe insolently to a Royalist of quality, calling him "Sirrah"
and telling him he would make him proclayme Charles Steward
(pardon me for using his villanous expressions) a traytor or eate
his sworde. Cromwell (upon complainte) would not mitigate or

1656. meddle therein, but sayd Butler^a was discreete and he was resoluēd to leane each Major Generall his government free. In many parts they set some aside to be sent to y^e Indyes. The petition in behalfe of y^e poore outed clergy can yet receiue noe answer; y^e Arch-Bishop of Armagh^b (y^e Deliverer) confessing y^e Common Prayer was by y^e people made an idole and therefore justly abolished prouing y^e receiued opinion of him true, y^t he is of great reading but weake judgement. Y^e people are generally disarmed (except them in imployment), y^e armes of Westminster brought to Whitehall, those of y^e Citty to y^e Tower; y^e next change supposed to be y^e remouing y^e officers of y^e Custome-house. They looke pale and expect it.

The Sweedish Ambassador^c hath caused a great muttering at Whitehall by his going in person to view y^e fleete (accompanied by Coll. Fleetwood) from place to place where y^e ships were preparing. Desborow's bolt was, that, whatsoever his meaning was, it was not wisely done, Y^e fleete is neare ready, and to be diuided into 3 squadrons (as supposed), Blake, Desborow and Montague to command them. They rejoyce much at Whitehall at y^e newes of a great duell fought at Cologne betwixt y^e English and Scotish of y^e Kings party. The discouery of Manning they father there upon Don Alonso, who was extreamely slighted by Cromwell; y^e circumstances, I beleive, is noe newes, else I could giue them you. Manning (they say) is lamented, as one y^t did his worke well, and they thinke he hath discouered much of y^e Kings intentions. It is thought y^t their peace with Holland will be of noe long continuance, vnlesse some good frind interpose, but hereof you are better able to judge on y^t side, though there is at

^a Col. William Butler, who was Major-General for cos. Bedford, Huntingdon, Rutland, and Northampton.

^b James Ussher, who died 21 Mar. following. The same writer, in a letter to Nicholas of 1⁹/₁₀ Jan. (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 109), speaks of Ussher's having been with Cromwell on the subject of the clergy, "but to little purpose."

^c Count Christiern Bundt, who had been in England since July, 1655.

present a possibility of a breach. Cromwell hath bin lately very ill againe; his distemper was a great swelling on his brest below his clauis. Phisitians consulted and found (by his relation) y^t he had there a glandule by wearing of armes or something else. Y^t glandule proued an impostume; he purged and vomited and afterwards it was launced, but his chirurgeon (a great curer of y^e French pox) doubts not but to cure him of this infirmity. Yet this I am assured from very good hands, y^t he is soe often and greatly indisposed y^t it is thought he will not liue long. One Mr Dury,^a a Scotchman with one eye, is Cromwells great intelligencer at this time on this side y^e sea; I haue it from 2 seuerall hands y^t wish notice may be taken of him. Y^e boate to Zealand is just going of, soe y^t I must beg pardon for this hasty accompt. Howeuer, I must not forget to assure you y^t I am vnfeignedly, as obliged to be, Sir,

Your most humble and most faithfull seruant,

R. W.

The last weeke, a French frigate being in chase of a Flemming, she made to y^e coast of England and there was boarded by an English man of war, who carried her into y^e Downes. Y^e French demanded her of y^e English Admirall (y^t rode there), pretending y^t he had long chased her and y^t she could not haue escaped, and therefore not faire play to be taken from him by y^e English, but y^e Admirall hath referred y^e businesse to Cromwell and the French complaine. It was a rich ship.

The boate staying longer then intended giues me y^e opertunity of making this small addition. It is conceiued y^t Coll. Montague with his squadron is for y^e Baltique sea, Blake for y^e streights, and Desborow for this channell. The presse for seamen is verry great, and a good number of landmen are also intended, but how many not certainly resolved. Out of y^t part of Prides Regiment

^a Presumably the well-known John Durie, advocate of the union of the Protestant Churches, who had been one of Cromwell's agents in Switzerland.

1656. (come lately from Scotland) they take 20 out of each company. It is thought they will quarrell againe with Holland, but y^e certainty hereof they expect to know before their fleet's going out. They thinke they haue soe ouerreacht them in their last treaty y^t y^e Dutch will be necessitated to it upon y^e first occasion y^t shall be offered y^m; this I assure [you] is y^e sence of some y^t passe for wise men. I am againe aduertised concerning Dury, y^t an eye may be had on him, Cromwell depending much on his intelligence. I humbly beg pardon for y^e rudenesse of this patched letter and for all y^e other errors of, Sir,

Your most obedient humble seruant,

[R. W.]

Feb. 2.

SIR E. NICHOLAS TO THOMAS ROSS.^a

f. 132b. SIR,

Colen, 1 Feb. N. S., 165 $\frac{5}{6}$.

I have acquainted M^{rs} Brogden [*the King*] with the contents of most of your letter of the $\frac{11}{12}$ of January. But as for that particular concerning an offer made, as M^r Richard H[opton] tells you, by a gentleman of estate and interest with M^r Jackson [*Cromwell*] to put Norton [*Cromwell*] out of possession, he hauing (you say)

^a This letter of Nicholas to T. Ross or Row, the Royalist agent, is one of the extracts from the former's lost letter-book, made by Dr. T. Birch (Add. MS. 4180, f. 132b). It clearly relates to a proposal to assassinate Cromwell, which Nicholas warmly approved, though he declined to submit it to the King. The decipherings of the names are obtained from letters of Ross in *Cal. St. Pap.* 1655-56. His letter of $\frac{11}{12}$ Jan., which conveyed the proposal, is not included, but his reply to Nicholas, $\frac{7}{17}$ Feb., will be found at p. 166. It begins: "Though I find you are unwilling to present this grand affair to *the King*, I could not but yield to Rich. Hopton's importunity. The business being of such weight to your service, I have turned every stone to press him to undertake it, but he says he has no power from those that instructed him to set the wheel going but on *the King's* approbation only."

infallible ways and means to effect it, if he have approbation and encouragement from Mr Hall [*the King*] to undertake it, I shall deal clearly with you, that I will never propose any such thing to Mr Valentine [*the King*], being confident that as any man that will undertake such a charitable business will do it principally out of conscience and honour for the goodness of the deed, so I am assured no man that shall effect so glorious a work can possibly fail of an ample and very honourable reward for it as well on earth as in heaven, and undoubtedly the recompense will be deservedly the more advantageous to him if it shall be effected without any merchandising and purely out of conscience and good affection. Which is all the answer I can give to that part of your letter, which I conceive to be sufficient encouragement for any person that hath a real inclination to perform so charitable a deed in so seasonable a time. I assure you that I shall be as reserved as you or your friend can wish in any thing you recommend to me to be kept secret.

SIR E. NICHOLAS TO THE EARL OF NORWICH.^a

⁵/₁₅ Feb., 165⁵/₈.

I do knowingly assure your Lordship that there is no intention, nor ever was, to employ Sir Benj. Wright in Spain, tho' it is possible he may have affected to have been there made use of. But indeed there is an intention, and hath been for some time, to send an express thither as soon as means can be found for it. But at this time, and ever since the last payment was here made to his Majesty's servants, there hath not been means for it, which is the only cause that the express hath been thus long deferred.

^a From Dr. Birch's extracts, Add. MS. 4180, f. 133.

JOSEPH JANE.

1656. RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 22 Feb. 1656.

f. 55.

I haue your 15 and 18^a instant. The El[ector of] Br[anden-
burg]s agent here hath given in a memoriall to the States signify-
inge his agreement with the Swede and the motives to it, the
danger of warr and his particular condition, and withall tells them
that he hath agreed nothinge to the preiudice of his leauge with
them. But in all this the articles are not expressed whereon the
peace is made, which continues still the doubt here that there is
somethinge not soe consonant to their leauge as they beleeeve ought
to have beene. Some say that all treatyes to the preiudice of the
crowne of Swede are renounced, and vnder that title such are
vnderstoode as were in motion with some of Poland and Germany,
but not leauges ratified. This, though offered for present, doth
not, as I heare, take of (*sc. off*) the doubt. Its thought that the
Elector and Swede may make some pretence against the D. of
Newburge vpon the old question of Gulicke. . . .

I heare, though some are soe jollie at the French entertaynement,
others are not soe, but wish themselves againe in Holland. I
perceive by a letter that I sawe of M^r Bennetts that he esteemes it
but a pageantry, and I may iudge by the manner of his writinge
that he would be vnderstood averse to that interest, and certainly
any one that places his hopes on the Kings restitution will never
expect it by the way of France. And I beleeeve he discerns that
otherwise there is not any great connexion of spirits or complexions
betwene him and whome he acts by: I verily beleeeve there is at
present a frindshipp betwene the persons I formerly wrote you ;
and I hope its vnderstood that it cannot be for the Kings interest
that he should in case of his restitution remember any vnkindnesse
of persons subiect to forreyne states, but that he must followe his

^a For the letter of $\frac{8}{18}$ Feb. see *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 169 ; the other is not preserved.

present interest and that the interest of his kingdoms is greater
then that of his nephew or allye. The assembly beinge now mett,
there is like to be some very great consultacion touchinge forreyne
affaires, as well as those at home. . That which I last wrote vpon a
private letter touchinge the English taking a towne on the con-
tinent ^a is since seconded from Antwerp and the Dutch gazett, but
it seems the matter was not very great, for they stayed not but
pillaged only and were in want of necessaryes till their supply
came. I heare by one that is lately come out of England that 46
of Cromwells fleete are sheathed, and that confirmes his designe
for the Indies; and in the meane tyme I cannot coniecture why
the Spaniard demurs, which I cannot imagine anything but the
hope of peace cann doe. And it exceedes all our observation if
Cromwell prepare such a fleete for nothinge and having noe enemy
but Spaine cannot be supposed reasonably to employ it any other
way. And yet when I thinke on our owne misfortunes and
Spaines necessities, I entertayne thoughts of difficulty enough and
sad aspects towards vs. God in his good tyme cann remove these
iudgments from vs, but I doubt that is not yet, for there is little
preparation to it in the mynds and abilityes of men; for commonly
there arise against such actions men of spirit and parts, which I
call such as are serious in publike interest, not such as have
learnt some formall fashions like actors on a stage, that cann putt
on a countenance to themselves and putt others out. That is noe part
of what contributes to the publike vnlesse mischeife. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

J. J.

^a Santa Marta, taken by Adm. Goodson on 24 Aug. 1655 (see his letter of 7 Nov.
in *Thurloe St. Pap.* iv. p. 159).

1656.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 25 Feb. 1656.

f. 57.

. Wee all here take it for current that the English have attempted S^{ta} Martha and pillaged it, and this last mornynge I was told that the report is the inhabitants refusing quarter and rendring themselves were all burnt with the towne. This I had from a very sober discreet man and Dutch. I am very confident that much meddling doth our busines noe good with the Spaniard, and I heare every where that some of ours are applying themselves to the ministers of Spaine, which must render vs lesse considerable. I have mysele, as I wrote you formerly, forborne to make addresses to the Ambassador, another having better advantages and vsed some means and had conferences. I vnderstand Capt. Mewes intended to apply himsele to the Ambassadors secretary, and I meeting him spake in generall of the effects of such addresses [and] found his opinion to be that they were necessary, soe as I collected it was true I heard. I tooke noe further notice of it for the tyme, but wish he medled not in it. Mr. Onele told me he had received a letter from Mr Cellomore of the 29, as I take it, signifying that the Secretary of Fuentseldania sent for him to let him know his master had received orders to send to the King. This Mr Onele told me he was about to send to me when instantly he received a letter of the same date from Sir H. de Vic that Fuentsel. was to goe for Millan and Carracena to come hither and, with all, that demanding an answeere to a memoire he had given, [it] was deferred for some tyme. The good Dr and I agree not in our opinions of 573 [*Sir H. de Vic*]. I beleeeve wee shall not suddenly see any good from Spaine yet.

All our newes here goes that a part of Cromwells fleete is gone
 for Plymouth, some say Portsemonth, and there take in more land-
 of men. Though the books out of England have not many par-
 iculars, yet thus farr they goe, that there is noe favour to be

expected for the Kings party and they meane to take the lives of as many as fall within the reach of their lawe. The States here finde that they are not in any favour with Cromwell, but that he should tell their Amb. in such terms I heare not. I intend the extract shalbe made knowen, as you would have it. I was tould there was a designe vpon Condé, to blow vpp the magazines, and I was tould on of them was fired and Mr Shomberg blowen vpp, but not killed. I cannot vnderstand any reason for this change of Governours by the Spaniard in this coniu[n]cture, when his warr is like to be more vigourous, and a new commander cannot soe throughly vnderstand the affaires as is needfull without experiment of some particulars, which tyme only gaines. That which I have heard for it is that Caracena is the better souldier and that the other is displeasing to the country, and some say that the Prince of Condé and he are not of soe right vnderstanding one of another. Some say there is an expectacion that Don John shall come into the place of the Archduke and that is a reason why Carracena is removed ; otherwise Milan is the better place.

1656.

There is nothing yet spoken of any proceedings in the Assembly here, and it may not suddenly come to discourse. Wee may very easily beare with the Dutch for their Articles, when soe potent a state as France stoopes to such terms. The reason of such vnworthy condiscentions is that nothing is dishonest or vnseemly that is profitable, and leauges bynde noe longer then they are of advantage ; and yet I thinke Pagans haue exceeded Christians in this case, at least these of our tyme. But as there be men that vse this art that are not of vs, soe we see that some men cann live in France when others are excludet and yet as well with vs as any sufferers, which is an ill signe of our succeesse and a cause of much discontent. . . . I have not heard of any of their new models that the vilaine is making, but the worse he deals the sooner may come his destruction. I heard of the ioyning of Dunkirk and Gravling to the French and Newport and Ostend to the English, which I doubt will not hold, neither being willing to

1656. trust the other soe farr. · M^r Lovell is come to Rotterdam, and D^r Morley goes to him this day and carryes the letter for the euangelicall Cantons of Swize. I have not kindnes for them since their message to the Dutch to ioyne with the rebells of the same religion, as they called them. . . .

Your honours faithfull servant,

J. J.

SIR E. NICHOLAS TO T. ROSS.^a

SIR,

1st Feb. 1654

I have yours of the 7th inst. and can say no more to M^r Kempe's [*Ri. Hopton's*] proposition than I have in mine of the 1st of this month. If the person M^r Kempe comes from hath formerly done amiss, there is no doubt but so honourable an act will not only expiate his past offence but merit a further recompense; and for him to insist on more assurance thereof than the piety and worthiness of such an action were to raise doubt that he had no intention to effect any such thing. For none can, I conceive, imagine that so glorious an act can possibly be unrewarded either in this world or in that to come. If M^r Farley [*Ant. Hungerford*] perform his promise in sending M^{rs} Trinker [*Sec. Nicholas*] such wares as concern Mr. Norton's [*Cromwell's*] commerce [*correspondence*], it will be a most acceptable kindness to M^{rs} Brogden [*the King*], who will be mindfull, as she hath promised me, to deserve it from him. M^r Anderson [*Sir Geo. Ayscue*] hath now, I hear, no more to do with M^r Ludgen [*sc. Lugden, a fleet*], and so that business I mentioned concerning him needs not to be further discovered at present. It is here conceived

^a From Dr. Birch's extracts, Add. MS. 4180, p. 133. See above, p. 264. The decipherings of the names, etc., are supplied from the key preserved at the Public Record Office.

that M^r Brownford [*sc.* Brawford, *the King of Spain*] hath now 1656.
 very good affections for M^r Hall [*the King*], whereof there
 is now great expectations of real effects; wherein I wish their
 confidence here may not fail them.

MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

S^r,

27 March, 1656.

f. 74.

. . . The men wee are to deale with^a some of vs say are to slow,
 but I see not how wee can allow them lesse time in a mater
 of so high importance; and, however the law is in their hands and
 wee must receiue it from them, yet they treat vs with all the
 ciuillity wee could expect, if wee were vpon more equall termes
 with them. I doubt not but our conclusion will bee good, for it
 were an inhumanity to ad shuch a skorne to our affliction as it
 would bee to delude vs or make a property of the King in the case
 hee is. I beleeeue they are not prepared with meanes to receiue
 and suport the King, nor will to divert what they haue for
 the busines of these countrys to any other vse, which is nearest
 their care and for which they are not over plentifully furnisht, so
 that I conclude wee must returne to you till both the satisfaction of
 what shall bee agreed on and the meanes to suport and set vs
 on worke shall come from Spaine, which I doe not looke for
 so soone as they make vs beleeeue. But I can beare that delay
 in the assurance that it will come at last. I haue writen to the
 Chancellor much to this effect, but somewhat more at large and I
 hope you are in case to goe to him.

I had a leter from my wife of the 26 of the last month, old
 stile; shee tells mee shee had then had no leter from mee and that

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^a Ormonde had gone secretly with the King to Brussels to negotiate a treaty with Spain, which was signed on 12 April (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 109).

1656. shee should bee forced for her subsistence and to giue her children bread to cary them all with her into Ireland. I am not sorry shee goes thither, and submit to the necessity it pleases God to impose vpon her for it. I hope by your meanes to heare againe from her, and if you haue any leters for mee, the Friday post will bring them to mee. God send vs a good meeting and a short stay at Cullen.

Your most affectionate humble seruant,

ORMONDE.

MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

S^r,

10 April, 1656.

- f. 76. I must aske your leaue to referr you to mine to M^r Cha[ncellor] for all I am able to say of our busines here. The King desires you to continue sending what advertisements you shall receiue out of England, for that possibly hee may make good vse of them at some times to others and they will allways bee fit for his knowledge; but I hope before it bee long you and the rest of his Councell will bee called to him, though I feare his family must lye in pawne there till hee shall bee able to redeeme it.

It growes doubtfull here whether the King of Poland or hee of Sweden haue had the beter of it; and the ariveall of the plate fleete is called in question, some vesell lately arived from the coast of Spaine affirmeing it was not

Your most affectionate humble seruant,

ORMONDE.

JOSEPH JANE.

1656.

f. 78.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 11 Apr., 1656.

I have your 7 Apr. Though you cannot make a iudgment whether the Kinge will returne to Colen, yet wee are here very hopefull that you cann now iudge whether, if he come to Colen, he may shortly returne for Flanders; if not, you may seeme to be as much in the darke as wee are here, that heare only common newes. I confesse I am very full of suspitions, but still hope that the Kinge beinge now on the place may dis[cóver] their intentions, and thence you may make an estimate of the successe, but when all is taken into consideration, it wilbe concluded that the Spaniard enters into this agreement with the Kinge vnwillingly and wishes he had not cause for it. Neither is he soe resolute to found the counsell of his security on Cromwells ruyn, but if the villayne could be bowed to a peace, would still take it; and the protraction of this treaty makes it evident they have expectations of it still. However I heare the Knight of Malta^a is gone into Flanders and not into England, as the former newes was, and I am told that Bourdeaux^b is at Calais and his [su]dden busines is the mony that Cromwell is to haue by^c. . . . They say he hath a great s[umme], p[art] whereof is not to be payed but vpon some certainty of Cromwells assistance to take the sea townes of Flanders from the Spaniard. I finde they that are in France seeke to cast a cloud vpon the Kinges hopes of Spayne and therefore reports are framed to divert the mynds of men from the expectations of it, as letters were written from thence that the Kinge was returned

^a So Nicholas to Jane, $\frac{2}{3}$ Mar.: "Enquire more about the Knight of Malta, whom you name to have been there with the Spanish ambassador, and now to be gone for England (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 235).

^b French ambassador to England. He was on leave in France from Dec. 1655 to Apr. 1656.

^c The letter is torn at this point and elsewhere.

1656. to Colen and discour[ses of] a tenour that magnifie the merits of France. [The] interests and passions of men are not to be governed by reason of publike concernment, and in our court wee have noe ioy in the apprehension of a coniunction with Spain and [some] talk as if they were vnwilling it should be, and all the reason I know is because of the interest of the Ch[ancellor]; and yet their interest depends on the Kings, vnlesse they think they are well provided for as they now are. Malice hath a predominance not only over reason but profit and advantage, thinking all nothinge if that be not satisfied. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

J. J.

MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

- f. 82. S^r, 14. Aprill, 1656.
 The King writing to you himself and I haueing don as much at large to the Cha[ncellor], I haue litle to say to you. The King will, I belecue, see the Archduke tomorow and on Wednesday hee meanes to goe towards Bruges, if hee haue mony enough to carry him; if not, hee must stay in no conuenient posture for a suply, but from whence it should come is left to Prouidence. I haue writen two senerall ways of late to my wife about our domestick affaires, which are in great disorder betweext the want of meanes to keepe my sonnes abroad and the danger of leaueing them at home, espetially when wee shall make any atempt vpon the great Rebell, but I trust God will direct vs to the last and protect them. . . .

Your faithfull humble seruuant,

ORMONDE.

CHARLES II.

1656.

CHARLES R.

Eg. 2542
f. 233.

Instructions for . . . Sir Edward Nicholas, our Principall Secretary of State, and our Privy Counsell.

You are to signify to those of our family remaining att Cullen that it is our pleasure they shall stay there till our further order, and taking Fox with you to assure them (hee being present) that wee will speedily return monies for the payment of all the arrears of their board wages.

That as wee expect none of them shall in the meane time departe from thence without our leaue, so it is our expressed will and pleasure they frequent the publick prayers att the usuall times and liue both amongst themselves and with the inhabitants as if we were there in person.

And if it shall appeare that the magistrates and inhabitants of the towne shall take so farr notice of our stay in these partes and the sending for of some of our stuff and other necessities as to make them entertaine any suspicion or use discourses which might reflect upon vs, wee leaue vnto ye of our Counsell there to lett them know, in such manner as you shall thinke fitt, that wee intend not as yett to remooue our family thence, and when wee shall doe it, wee shall giue them notice thereof by our letters and take order for a precedent discharge of whatsoever debts may bee owing there, either by ourselves or any belonging vnto vs.^a

C. R.

Endorsed by Nicholas, Receaved this 10 of Aprill, 1656

^a According to a letter from the King to the magistrates of Cologne, 1 May, Stephen Fox, his "Maitre d'Hotel," was charged not to leave until the outstanding debts were paid (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii, p. 118).

1656.

MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

SIR,

Bruges, 26 Apr. 1656.

f. 83.

. . . . I have not acquainted his Ma^{tie} with your desire to bee left at liberty to remooue thence as soone as the D. of Gloucester shall come thence, because I know it was allways his purpose and that hee did direct my Lord Culpepers and your stay only to attend on him. His Ma^{tie} sayd last night hee would write this morning himself to his R.H. to satisfie him why [he] had not nor yet could send for him, the reason beeing that hee is in no sorte provided of a howse, nor very certaine that hee shall fix in this towne where howses, lodgeings and furniture are had with more difficulty then at Cullen. Hee is himself yet at my Lord of Taraghs,^a old Generall Prestons sonnes, with trouble to the lord and no great conueniency to himself. I am lodged at Mr Robinsons a good half mile from him, and so are my Lord of Rochester, Mr O'Neill and Mr Benett. His horses are vnder Armorers care at an Inne not much nearer at great expence. There is a howse hee may take at hyre capable of lodging as many as lay in his howse at Cullen, and I thinke more, but it is vterly vnfurnisht; of which if it can bee provided, hee will remoue thither. In all other respects the place is very conuenient, as being priuate and neare all his busines.

I thanke you for your continued care of my children. I haue writen twice to my wife to the effect you speake of. I pray God shee bee able to put it in execution either way.

There came hether yesterday out of England an officer that had serued vnder mee in Ireland, sent from some of our friends to tell vs that Cromwell had feed and sent ouer two [who] were to succede Maning. I haue their names and diescription so well

^a Anthony Preston, 2nd Viscount Tara, or Taragh; he died at Bruges in 1659 (*Topogr. and Genealogist*, ii. p. 470). He had recently succeeded to the title (see above, p. 91).

that I doubt not but to know them if they come in play, and if wee can finde any reasonable evidence, they willerne their mony as their fellow did. You will please not to take any notice of this, least those youths get notice they are discovered. 1656.

The King has not time to consider what is fit for him to doe concerning Henderson^a; perhaps hee will do nothing that may hinder his comeing into these parts, where it is more in his Maties power to deale with him as hee shall find iust and fit. I send you herewith Mr Couentrys pass signed. I wish I were able to doe him or any of that good family more seruice.

Here hath bin a report that Graulin was inuested in order to a sige by the French countenanced by English ships, but that rumor cooles and it is sayd they were only some troopes sent out to gather or inforce contribution. Howeuer, that or some other designe will soone bee set on foote, to preuent which they appeare not here to bee in any great readynes. I wish they would consider how vsefull the King may bee to them and giue him more reason then yet hee has to assist them with his interest, I meane by giueing him entertainment of all kindes suteable to his quallity. You will there know sooner then wee what becomes of Don John. I am

Your very faithfull humble seruant,

ORMONDE.

MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

f. 85.

Sr,

Bruges, 30 Aprill, 1656.^b

I receiued yours of the 25 late last night and am yet at shuch a distance from the King that I shall hardly bee able to receiue any comands from him to conuay to you, if any hee haue.

^a Sir John Henderson, one of Thurloe's spies (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 13, etc.).

^b For Nicholas' answer, see *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 126.

1656. His Mat^{tie} remaines still at my Lord of Taraghs very civilly vsd, but hee will remooue to his new howse as soone as it can bee in any degree fit to receiue him, to which the kermis, beginning to-morow and lasting almost all this weeke, will bee a great impediment. It will bee impossible to bring the Kings busines into any shuch posture but that the refin'd polititians will finde wherwith to exerceyse their abillities, and they haue ill luck if at some times they fall not vpon the right that are perpetually venturing their opinions.

The King receiued the enclosed from his R. H. the Duke of Yorke, and hopes by you to bee beter informd then hee can bee by any iudgement hee can otherwyse make of it, and how slight soeuer the aduertisment may seeme, yet I conceiue it needefull for his Mat^{tie} to bee beter vpon his guard now then at other times hee hath bin. I haue your cypher with mee, by which you may say what you thinke fit to bee a secure secret. It is sayd my Lord D. of Buk[ingham] is at Antwerp and that his lingering in these partes hath bin to obserue what the issue would bee of the Kings busines heare and accordingly to take his measures for his application to his Mat^{tie}, in which it is sayd hee will make vse of the mediation of my Lord of Newcastle. This is all the trouble you will now receiue from

Your very faithfull humble seruant,

ORMONDE.

f. 87.

MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

S^r,

Bruges, 7 May, 1656.

. . . . The King in the adioyned to his brother I conceiue giues him liberty to come to him as soone as hee pleases, of which I doubt not but his R. H. will make very speedy vse ; yet it will bee conuenient hee cast it soe that the hangings may bee here before

him, els hee will bee put to lodge very ill fauorably. This sumons to the Duke my Lord Culpeper and you will vnderstand, when you thinke fit, to bee your comission to remooue. 1656.

The King can driue these ministers no faster then their master apoynts them to goe, but sure it is an argument of very great importance at least in those friends of the Kings that draw melancholly conclusions from their slownes, and that can make no cheerfull reflexions vpon the amendement of his hopes from what they appeard to bee 3 months since. But I feare there may be in some of them a hidden vnwillingnes to bee called vpon to act their parte vpon a very dangerous stage, which they would disguise vnder their compassion of his Ma^{ties} ill condition, the deuisions in his family and the want of secesy in his counsell, which are the ordinary obiections of ether ferefull or lazy persons and which can neuer faile them when they haue a mind to keepe their skins whole.

I doe not wish the King suplyd vpon the confiscations you mention, but I doe that wee were sure it is so farr taken into their consideration. The maner might bee easily changed or the losse to our friends suported, who if they haue not secured themselues by their compositions beter then that it may bee in the King of Spaines power or in our masters acceptance to render it fruitlesse, they had beter venture for a solid and dureable security in the Kings restitution then liue in so miserable an vncertainty. His Ma^{tie} by mee sent you the last post the copy of the leter you send now decyphered, which hee receiued from his R. H. the Duke of York, and since hee hath receiued another of the same from Nic Armorer. This dilligence giues him cause to beleue there may bee something in it and will, I hope, make him carefull of himself. I know not where Mr Ellyott got ground for what hee says of the employing of Hallseys trecherous man.^a I am sure there is not one

^a William Masten, or Marston, who was said to have betrayed James Halsall, or Halsey, his master (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. pp. 414, 415).

1656. word true of it. I conceine you should doe well to know from Mr Elliot who his author is, that it may bee knowen where to lay the blame of so indiscreete, if not malicious, a reporte.

If it appeare to you that the Dillon you speake of bee the same that collected that mony in Germany, his fourbery is rather to be discouered to all then any new pretensions of his countenance towards any; and what euer hee bee, I am sure the King will not make any request to the Duke of Newbourg for quarters for him. If he haue really men at his comand and haue a minde to the warr, hee cannot want imployment, if hee put himself in the way to it. . . .

Your most affectionate humble seruant,

ORMONDE.

LORD HATTON.

f. 93.

Sr,

Paris, 7^o July, 1656.

I pray giue me leaue by imparting it to you to discharge me hart of some part of the ioy possesseth it that you are approached in any degree of neerenes to vs.^a The reason of twelve months silence may well begge leaue to be adiourned to our discource at our happy meeting, since it would proue to tedious for letters. I haue not heard from our noble frend the good Earle of N[orwich] since I sent him a letter in your packet, yet I hope he is hart whole. I am glad to heare busenes growes soe vpon you there you need helpe of your last brother secretary^b and much instructed by him to find the his horoscope and starres incline to his invitation from thence to come thither to take vp his penne againe. I am glad to see worthy persons and plausible to his Ma^{ty} party soe sought for and called to

^a The letter is addressed to Nicholas at Bruges.

^b George Digby, Earl of Bristol; he did not publicly receive the seals until 1 Jan. 1657 (*Cul. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 223).

1656.

employment and support, whilst weaker men are admitted to none, though at the expense of their owne purse. It is well when mens greatest fortunes meete soe with the publick service. There be others heere who lye at the Poole and assure vs the Angells will descend and put them in. It is not to be despaired Sr John Barkley may haue his turne, for he is very zealous in what concernes his Ma^{ty} and, as wee heare, recommended Spuling as most vsefull for his Ma^{tyes} service. My Lord of Bristoll settis forward on Monday next by the way of Calais and meets his English frends there, since perhaps when he hath resumed his penne he may, as his starres say, vissit the place of his birth^a in the most honorable employment can carry him thither.

The excellent Princess Royall hath shewed her admirable good nature to fixe heere, where she hath had soe little respect, and soe does the gallant Duke of Yorke, who hath nothing heere but disrespects. It giues vs assurance that all things goe soe well in Holland for the King and her sonne that her presence is not needfull, and that the Spaniard is soe confident of your sinceritie to him as that the Dukes residence heere breeds noe jealousy in him. There be pretty points disputed heere about it by the wiser statesmen that fly to high aboue our ignorant heads. P. Chur[ch] and Sir G. Rat[cliffe] tell me they send you soe punctually all passages that I shall make but inconsiderable gleanings after them. Yett I shall adventure sometyms to present what I may suppose they may omitt. I pray, Sir, how continues Dr Fraisers^b distance, and is it beleued it will not be peececd vp? Sir John Barkley much pitties him and thinkes he hath soe hard measure that the difficulty of his restoration depends on the Dr himselfe, who cannot in honnor descend to it, rather then on his masters side. Wee should be glad to heare the currier were returnd from Spaine with the ratification of the treaty with his Ma^{ty}, which truly wee haue

^a He was born at Madrid in 1612, during his father's embassy there.

^b Dr. Alex. Frazer, the King's physician, now in disfavour. He came to Bruges on 1 May with some proposal for the King (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. pp. 129, 131).

1656. great cause to value, since wee are told the whole treaty hat bin acted by his Ma^{ty} single; for without doubt, if such of his Ma^{tyes} affaires as will permitt it shall be acted singly by his Ma^{ty} and such as require consult bee treated att a secret counsell table, wee shall find a happy establishment, which will neuer befall vs nor any kingdome by the ministry of any premier ministre or fauorite. I am farr from thinking this kingdome happy (how great victories soeuer they make) by the retirement of their Kings from bussines and the actiuity of their premier ministre, a place of two liues standing. I feare I interrupt you. If you will permitt me, I will now and then giue my selfe the high contentment to tell you I am, Sir,

Your very obedient humble seruant,

[SIMON SMITH.]

Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, "Mr Smith [sc. Lord Hatton] to me."

LORD HATTON.

f. 98. St, Calais, $\frac{7}{17}$ Octob., 1656.
Yours of the $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁹ of Sept. came not to my hands vntill last night at 9 of the clock and my answeare called for this morning by 8. I would say much, if I knew how safely it would come to your hands, but indeed this is the second tyme wee in this towne haue in a monthes tyme heard from your parts. I assure you it is more necessary they heard daily then soe seldome. Howeuer, an emissary statesman told vs yesterday the great work was done and such things as wee thought necessary was but piddling, for he assured vs at a kitchin fire in the presence of many that the Anabaptists had made their peace with the King by the treaty of one Howard,^a one of Cromwells Life Gardes, who had bin thrice with

^a William Howard, second son of Lord Howard of Eserick; succeeded as third Lord in 1678. He was cashiered from the Life Guard as an Anabaptist early in 1656 (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 415). For an Address from him and others to the King see *ibid.*, p. 145.

1656.

the King, and that their was not any of the Army that had not made their address and peace with the King, Cromwell and Lambert excepted. This was great and good newes, if I could haue rested vpon it, but my author and auditory considered, I wisht he had held his peace. I should not trouble you with this relation were it not to let you see the danger of employing such persons, for the vanity of being thought the flye on the wheele renders them equall with the greatest knaues as to the destruction of bussines. The same party gaue such language of Queene Elizabeth and King James and such expressions of atheisme as truly I dare not repeat them. Whether such carriage as his will gaine vpon our aduersaries I know not, but I am sure it driues offe our frends from ioyning with such negotiators. I thought it necessary to giue you a touch of this, yet soe as I hope it shall not goe beyond our master.

Mr Smith^a desired me to tell you he hath written thrice to you. The first he perceaues you receaued; the second was vndertaken by two English Jesuits; the third he sent to Mr Temple to convey. In the last he informed you of another little statesman whose pen was as bussy with him heere as his tongue at Paris; and to the relation his last gaue of his informing his correspondent hence of Mr Smithes being heere and his supposals of his crossing ouer as employed I can now from Mr Smith adde the successe. When Mr Smithes friend came to moue his pass at the Councell of State, it was refused^b because Mr Smith came vpon desigine, etc. His friend consulting his agents and they holding him close to it, he returned again and put to his strength and carried it for a pass, which Mr Smith hourelly attends, if such fellowes letters cause it not [to] be recalled. Mr Smithes request therefore to you and his Master is that what concernes him may be very secret, and that

^a He means himself under his pseudonym Simon Smith.

^b See Proc. of Council of State, 25 Sept.: "The question for a pass for Sir Chris. Hatton to come to England passed in the negative" (*Cal. St. Pap.* 1656-57, p. 116). It was granted, however, on 29 Sept. (*ib.* p. 583).

1656. his Master will beleue he will serue him to the best of his skill and the highest integrity and will advertise very religiously how he finds things; but think him not slothfull if he walk circumspectly. He vowes he feares more our owne little agents then the enemies there. I haue receaued your enclosed, and if I make any addition to it, I will returne it to you. I expect a frend here to morrow from England and, if I can discouer ought, I will desire Mr Smith to write ere he goe hence. I saw yesterday a letter from England that was from one went hence to speak with Barksted,^a Lieutenant of the Tower, and they write word that he hauing bin desperately sick all people are refused access to him. But this party was told he was dead and that it was concealed vntill another was put in. I should be glad to know whether [Earl of Bristol?] be yet settled in the great place he went to take possession of, and whether Sr John Barkley be settled in your court, that by that light I may ghesse whether all things are there possible.

Mr Smith is verry sencible that many little pens will spatter blood at your house for his shines [sins?] towards them, but he hopes they will not preuaile in his Masters ears to his preiudice, for I assure you he resolues he will shun them all, though such as your cousin Santill, whom he thinks not malicious but sufficiently dangerous through weaknes. Indeed, he purposeth not to deale at all with my cosen Kertons frends, vnless it be for mault, and that too in an honorable and considerable way without licking my fingars, as I know who did at Paris. Euer since the sad newes of my deere Sr Spencers death^b I haue bin verry ill and soe continue, there being few things that could haue gon soe neere me. I wish you had there a good phisitian, for I cannot but attribute it to the vnskillfullness of

^a Col. John Barkstead, a regicide; he was not dead, but lived to be executed in 1662.

^b Sir Spencer Compton (see vol. ii. p. 91, where a misprint gives the year of death as 1659). His death is lamented by Hyde in a letter of 1 Oct. (*Cal. Clarendon Pap.* iii. p. 178).

phisitian not to relieue a feauer in 19 dayes in soe temperate a 1656.
body as his. I hope, liuing and dyeing, he will remain a liuing
example in the court. And I wish from my soule those three
vnparraleld royall brothers might be allwayes enviroind with such
holy soules as that which is now at rest with God. I am to (*sc.* too)
pationate to continue the theame. I pray God preserue you with
health. Take into your care there, Sir,

Your most humble and deuoted seruant,

S. S.

Endorsed by Nicholas, Mr Simon Smith.

SIR RICHARD BROWNE.^a

RIGHT HON^{ble},

. The subject of that my miscarried letter (the most f. 107.
important for your Honour to know) was that Mr Lockard^b was
the Sunday before the writinge theroff publicquely receiued at
Charanton by the ministers and elders (viz. the Presbytery en
corps), Mon^r Gath,^c their famous new come preacher, makinge the
welcomming speech in the name of the rest. I sent also at the
same time a letter to Mr Chancellor, which contained barely nothing
at all butt a short answere to a quære his Honour made concern-
inge the D[utch] Ambassador,^d who continues still (for ought I can
perceiue) as kinde, as ciuill and as well affected as heretofore
Mr. Lockard told a freind of mine, who happened to bee present
when hee opened his last letters from England, that all such officers
d^e

ⁱ Resident for the King at Paris (see vol. i. p. 63).

^j Sir William Lockhart, English ambassador in Paris since April, 1656.

^k Jacques Gaches, called to be minister at the Protestant church of Charenton, in
the 4, where he remained till his death in 1668 (Haaq, *La France Protestante*, vi.
8, col. 780).

Willem Boreel, Dutch ambassador at Paris. In a letter to Browne, of 13 Oct.
Hay's ed. of *J. Evelyn's Diary*, 1879, iv. p. 322), Hyde had enquired whether
his old affections continue to us."

1656. belonginge to the militia in Schotland who were nott absce
Reipublicæ causâ had strict order to repaire immediately to the
duty out of an apprehension that some insurrection in fauour
his Ma^{ty} was ready to breake forth in the north part of that kin
dome. *Sir Ed. Herbart* visitinge two days since *Mr. Paul*
Agent to the Prince Elector, shewed him the copie of a longe let
written by the Marquis of Ormond to an Irish Bishop^a here, who
Cardinal Mazzarin was much spoken off, which (hee tells mee) w
uery well penned; and in that particular told mee noe newes, w
doe soe well know the excellency of my Lord Marq^s his stile. A
ambassador here hath also a copie of the sayd letter, butt for n
part I haue not yett had the honour to see it.

The Duke of Buckingham is now come to towne. His Grac
the Lord Jermyn, the Lady Kinallmeaky,^b Madam Vantelet, etc
were yesterday here in my house to assist at the buriall of S^r Fr
Cornwallis his daughter, of about 16 yeares of age, dead of a co
sumption. The Duke, I take it, lodgeth yett in towne, but the
is a chamber prouidinge for him in the Palais Cardinal.

The Lady Talmidge,^c M^r W^m Murray's daughter, is come
Paris. One thinge more which I remember I wrote in the stra
letter was that the Prince of Talmont^d was at liberty and come
hither, hauinge onely 6 weekes time to remaine in this kingdome,
vnder promise on his part that he should nott goe into the
ennemyes country nor undertake any thinge against this state.
M^r Belinge just now bringinge me this inclosed for his sonne hath
communicated to mee the copies of the Cardinals letter and of my
Lord of Ormonds to the Bishop.

^a Oliver Darcy, R. C. Bishop of Dromore. The letter is printed in *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 306 (see also *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 172).

^b Elizabeth Boyle, Viscountess Boyle, of Kynalmeaky (see vol. i. p. 174).

^c Elizabeth, dau. of William Murray, first Earl of Dysart, and wife of Sir Lichfield Tollemache (see vol. ii. p. 6).

^d Henri Charles de la Trémoille, eldest son of the Duc de Thouars. He was a partisan of Condé, and had been confined at Amiens since the end of 1655.

Sir, prayinge for the preservation of his Ma^{ties} sacred person and
 beedy establishment on the throne of his royall progenitors, I rest
 ex Your Honours most humble and most faithfull seruant,
 vi RICHARD BROWNE.
 Paris, this 3^d Nor 1656.

SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

GHT HON^{ble},
 . . . The Knight your Honour enquires after^a went hence two f. 114.
 three months since towards Bourdeaux, there (as is sayd) to liue
 iuatly. A gentleman (an Englishman), a freind of mine, sawe
 n as hee passed by Saulmure. The Lady Tal[midge] or Countesse
 Disert^b (for that title, I heare, shee now takes uppon her) will
 et (as I am told) come to Paris. I haue heard say she intends for
 ly. When I can learne anythinge more particularly of hir, and
 ere shee is, I shall acquaint your Honour. Of the Lord Percyes
 arney I haue heard nothing of late; neyther haue I heard of
 e death of that lady at Caen. Hir sonne was lately here with
 ee and went away sodainly to Caen. The Princesse Royalls
 ourney holds Munday next. The Queene, I am told, intends to
 ringe hir to St Denis and lodge there that night. I shall deliuer
 o Sir Alex. Hume the booke for your Honour and likewise your
 eeale seale; but as for your stone seale, I feare it will bee Pauls
 orke. I cannot gett the workman to goe nor driue. Hee
 retends great businesse, butt in truth I suspect his great aage and
 uch doubt whether his eyes serue him; of which I will, as soone
 s I can find him at home, bee better satisfied. Here are (as I
 eare) other commissions in towne for him from Bruges, which I
 resume will goe as slowly on as this for your Honour, in which I am

^a Probably Sir Kenelm Digby, who was at Bordeaux in Feb. 1657 (*Cal. Clar. St.* ap. iii. p. 249).

^b See above, p. 286. She took the title on the death of her father, William Murray, created Earl of Dysart in 1643.

1656. heartily angry I cannott bee more expedite, there being nothinge wherein I am better pleased then in performing your Honours commands. The French Protestants compliance with the French court is noe new thinge. In all their late synods, euer since they lost in the last Kinges raigne their stronge holds, their settled maxime hath constantly beene to adhere in all alleageance to the Kinge and Crowne, as hath beene manifest in all the late ciuile warres and brouilleries of this Kingdome. Mon^r de Rouuigny,* their Deputy General, is in uery good esteeme at Court. Your Honour will find his name in the answere to the Bishop of Sens his speech. He hath beene lately created Marquis by the Kinge, and is a prime instrument of the good intelligence. Those of the Consistory being not longe since asked why they did nott receiue me with a solemne speech when heretofore I went to Charanton and communicated with my whole family, the answer was that what they had donne to M^r Lockard was by speciall order from Court. I cannott finde that any moneye at all hath been remitted where your Honour mentions. True it is there is a great summe demanded, butt nothinge payed. Thus farre in answere and satisfaction to your Honours.

The Court hath nott stirred hence, as was thought when I wrote my last, and what I mentioned of a Spanish Secretary proues noe such thinge. The Count of Harcourt hath written a letter to this Kinge declaring his seruices to this crowne and his present great wants and necessities, askinge leaue that his eldest sonne may take condition vnder the Emperour, with whom tis thought (or at least suspected) hee may haue concluded some treaty for Philipsberg, the garrison of which place hath beene much neglected and the losse wheroff would bee of great importance to this Crowne. The Assembly of the Clergie hath made an Act amonge themselues nott to intercede any more for the Arch Bishop of Paris the Cardinal of Rait [Retz] his enjoyment of his temporall reuenue, and that

* Henri de Massue, Marquis de Ruvigny, Deputy-General of the Protestant churches in 1653. At the revocation of the Edict of Nantes he retired to England, where he died in 1689.

supplication bee made to the Kinge to make his processe within six months according to his former royall intention. 1656.

I yesterday sawe letters in a Frenchmans hands newly come from Rouen which bare Father D'Alie (the Irish Dominican)^a his beinge putt ashore by an English ship at Haure de Grace, which came from Lisbone. This is true, for the father, yf hee came nott hither last night, is expected here this day. Butt what uerity there is in the rest of the letter or, in case it bee true, how it should come to bee soe soone marchants newes I much doubt, viz., that he bringes the offer of the Kinge of Portugalls daughter for this Kinge with three millions ready money, thirty tall shippes entertained in the seruice of this Crowne six yeares, and a quadruple league offensiue and defensiue betweene France, Suede, Portugall and England; in which last article God forbid any subject of his Mat^{ie} who pretends (as this man doth) to be loyall should euer proue instrumentall.

I heare nothinge to the contrary butt that Mr Lockard holds his intended journey for England. Hee hath beene lately uisited by Mons^r de Lionne. . . . Prince Edward^b and his lady are come to their house neere this citty and haue hyred a house in towne neere the Louure. They come from Neuers. . . .

Your Honours most faithfull and most humble seruant,

RICHARD BROWNE.

Paris, this 17th No^r. 1656.

^a Daniel or Dominic Daly, founder and rector of the Irish Dominican College at Lisbon (see an account of him in *Dict. Nat. Biogr.* xiii. p. 436).

^b Count Palatine of the Rhine, a son of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia; he married Anne Gonzaga, dau. of Charles, Duke of Mantua and Nevers.

1656.

SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

f. 118.

RIGHT HON^{ble},

I did yesterday (in its due time) receiue your Honours fauour of $\frac{7}{17}$ Nov^r, for which I render humble thanks. I had before it came nott onely heard of the Earle of Bristol his beinge dessigned for Spaine, butt also of the refusall of his passe which was here demanded. Vppon Munday last the Princesse Royal began hir journey. The Queene hir mother accompanied hir to S^t Denis and returned the same night. Tuesday and Wensday were extreame fowle dayes with much snow and all other manner of bad weather. God send the good lady well to you, for thither she intends makinge that hir journeys end for a short time. By Sir Alex. Hume your Honour will receiue y^e booke and your steele seale, both sealed vp. As for the stone seale I cannott say when you may expeete it; butt I assure your Honour noe sollicitation of mine shall bee wantinge for the speedy dispatch of it, nor shall I faile to send you the list of euergreenes such as you desire as soone as possibly it can bee perfected, for which there are more hands then one at worke.

The late sumptuary lawe is hithertoo putt in execution, nor doth anything yett appeare to the contrary. The Assembly of the Clergie will henceforwards in all proba[bi]lity proceede totally accordinge to the Kinges pleasure, since the major part are soe compliinge with the Court. I doe nott yett finde any of my acquaintance who can say hee hath seene copie of the Count of Harcourts letter to the Kinge, butt certaine it is such a one hath beene written, and many courriers hane gone too and fro about this businesse, butt what the issue of itt will bee is nott at all yett knowne. Father Dalie (as in my last) is come to this towne, butt as yett declares nothinge of his errand; some that haue seene him

tell mee that Crumwel was nott onely consentinge butt also instrumental in his transportation from Lisbone hither, by giuinge particular orders to the ship (or rather shippes) that brought him. Madamoiselle Mancini^a is vppon the point of beinge contracted to Prince Eugenio (the eldest sonne of Prince Thomas that hath tonge and eares). The solemnity (I take it) stayes onely vntil the yeare after the fathers death bee expired, and some say hee will take the title of Count of Soissons vppon him. Some disorder there hath beene at Angiers about receiuinge of souldiers into the citty, but 'tis nothinge. And to preuent the frequent robberies and outrages committed in this citty, now more then euer, since lacquais are nott permitted to weare swords for their maisters defence and safety, here is a project of introducinge a horse guard, who shall in the night secure Pont Neuf and other dangerous parts of the towne, wheroff (yf it goe on) I shall giue particular account. Here is much speech of great preparations which the Turke should bee makinge against the Venetians for this next summer. Some Englishmen now passinge through this citty from Argeirs speake of a greate flete makinge ready there. Prince Edward Palatine and his lady haue taken a house neere the Louure and are come to this towne. Sr Geruais Lucas beinge come hither tells me hee was an eye wittnesse of my Lord Hatton's embarking for England about a month since at Calais. The Lady Talmidge Satterday last from Chartres came to this towne and here expects hir husbands company about three weekes hence. What shee then intends I haue not learnt.

Here are letters which say that the Parliament^b hath graunted Crumwell six subsidies, two hundred thousand pounds each

^a Olympia Mancini (above, p. 3). She married, in 1657, Eugene, Count of Soissons, second son of Thomas of Savoy, Prince de Carignan, by whom she was mother of the famous Prince Eugene. Her husband's elder brother was a deaf mute.

^b Cromwell's second Parliament met 17 Sept. 1656.

1656. subsidie. M^r Deane of Peterborough^a tells mee his late married sonne in law, who was chosen K^t of the Sheire (as I take it) for Westmerland, hath a writt of ease and is dismissed from farther attendance, possibly for hauinge married a prelates daughter. . . .

Your honours most faithfull and most humble seruant,

RICHARD BROWNE.

Paris, 24 No^r. 1656.

^a John Cosin, Bishop of Durham in 1660. His daughter Elizabeth married Thomas Burton, M.P. for Westmorland, the reputed author of the *Parliamentary Diary*, 1656-1659, printed under his name, 1828. On 16 Oct. 1656, Burton was called upon to defend himself in the House on a charge of disaffection, which he did successfully (*Parl. Hist.* p. 439).

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